

HARVARD THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

VOLUME XVII

JANUARY, 1924

NUMBER 1

LITERATURE ON CHURCH HISTORY

IN GERMANY, AUSTRIA, SWITZERLAND, HOLLAND, AND
THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES, 1914-1920

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III. THE REFORMATION AND THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

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ABBREVIATIONS

BFTh	Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie.
KIT	Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen, hrsg. von H. Lietzmann.
Klass Rel	Die Klassiker der Religion, hrsg. von Gustav Pfannmüller.
NStGThK	Neue Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und Kirche.
RStT	Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte.
RV	Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher.
SAH	Sitzungsberichte. Academy of Heidelberg.
SchrVRG	Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte.
SV	Sammlung gemeinverständlicher Vorträge und Schriften aus dem Gebiet der Theologie und Religionsgeschichte.



I. GENERAL

Aulén, Gustaf, Reformatoriska motiv inom den senare lutherska protestantismen (Lunds Univ. Årsskrift, n. s. pt. I, vol. XIII, no. 5). 51 pp. Lund and Leipzig, Harrassowitz, 1917. — *Below, Georg von*, Die Ursachen der Reformation. Mit einer Beilage: Die Reformation und der Beginn der Neuzeit (Historische Bibliothek 38). xvi, 187 pp. Munich and Berlin, Oldenbourg, 1917. — *Gleditsch, Jens*, Reformationens profil gjennem tiderne. 72 pp. Christiania, Steen, 1917. — *Göller, Emil*, Der Ausbruch der Reformation und die spätmittelalterliche Ablasspraxis. viii, 178 pp. Freiburg i. Br., Herder, 1917. — *Göransson, N. J.*, Luthers Reformation. Historisk psykologisk trosskildring. viii, 222 pp. Stockholm, Norstedt, 1920. — *Holmquist, Hjalmar*, Luther, Loyola, Calvin i deras reformatoriska genesis. 2d edition, revised and enlarged. iv, 325 pp. Lund, Gleerup, 1916; Den lutherska reformationens historia. 2d enlarged edition. xxxvii, 349 pp. Stockholm, Norstedt, 1919. — *Janssen, Johannes*, Geschichte des deutschen Volkes seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters. 19th and 20th editions, revised by *Ludwig von Pastor*. 3 vols. lx, 838 pp.; xl, 726 pp.; liv, 942 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1913, 1915, 1917. — *Kalkoff, Paul*, Luther und die Entscheidungsjahre der Reformation. 293 pp. Munich and Leipzig, Georg Müller, 1917. — *Kaulfuss-Diesch, Karl*, Das Buch der Reformation, geschrieben von Mitlebenden. 523 pp. Leipzig, Voigtländer, 1917. — *Köhler, Walther*, Martin Luther und die deutsche Reformation (Aus Natur und Geisteswelt 515). vi, 135 pp. Leipzig, Teubner, 1916; Die deutsche Reformation und die Studenten (SV 84). 45 pp. Tübingen, Mohr, 1917. — *Reimann, Arnold*, Deutsche Geschichte im Reformationszeitalter 1500–1648. xvi, 343 pp. Berlin, Reimer, 1917. — *Sjögren, Arthur*, Reformationen och Boktryckarekonstens Utveckling. 61 pp. Stockholm, Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses förlag, 1919. — *Störmann, Anton*, Die städtischen Gravamina gegen den Klerus am Ausgange des Mittelalters und in der Reformationszeit (RStT 24–26). xxii, 324 pp. Münster, Aschendorff, 1916. — *Wolf, Gustav*, Quellenkunde der deutschen Reformationsgeschichte. 2 vols. xiv, 528 pp.; xii, 296 pp. Gotha, Perthes, 1915, 1922.

IN treating the history of the Reformation, I am especially indebted to the material gathered by Dr. Preserved Smith under the title, 'A Decade of Luther Study,' in this REVIEW for April, 1921 (pp. 107–135). This enables me to be brief in dealing with the general literature of the subject, but as Dr. Smith in many cases gave only references without comment, and as he was not able to include the Scandinavian literature, at least a few works of special value must be noted here.¹

¹ My thanks are due to Dr. N. Bakhuizen van den Brink of Nieuw Dortrecht, for Holland; Dr. Valdemar Ammundsen, now Bishop of Hadersleben in Schleswig, for Denmark; Professor Sigmund Mowinckel of Christiania, for Norway; and Lic. theol. Hilding Pleyel of Lund, for Sweden.

Wolf's Quellenkunde is not merely a bibliography in the sense of a dry list of titles, but a thorough introduction to the sources and to the modern literature of the subject. No one who wishes to understand what German scholars, both Protestant and Catholic, have accomplished since the Luther anniversary in 1883 can afford to neglect this book, which is written with amazing mastery of a wide range of material, embracing the pre-reformation period and the Reformation itself. The concluding section, which appeared in 1922, contains information otherwise not easily accessible on the reformation theologians of the second and third rank, including the *dii minorum gentium*, and at least the more important of their Catholic opponents. Unfortunately the bibliography comes down only to 1914. Every specialist will have additions and corrections of detail to make in his own field, but Wolf's work deserves the highest commendation. — Although *Kaulfuss-Diesch's* handsome book is not intended primarily for scholars but for any reader interested in the history of the Reformation, it contains so much that is new even to scholars that it deserves notice here. As the title indicates ("The Book of the Reformation written by Contemporaries"), the author has gathered together accounts by leaders, participants, and contemporaries of the movement, both Protestant and Catholic, and supplied the introductory and connecting text. A great deal is included that is not found in the ordinary compilations, and a study of these original and graphic accounts of the intellectual, religious, and social conditions in which the Reformation had its roots will convince the reader of their value. The volume is fully illustrated from authentic originals collected by Otto Clemen, himself one of our most competent writers on the Reformation. So far as possible he has used the less familiar material, drawing especially on the treasures of the Ratsschulbibliothek of Zwickau.²

No general treatment of the whole subject of the Reformation of scholarly character has appeared during the period of

² I would call attention also to the small and inexpensive but trustworthy volumes of the "Quellenbücher" recently published by Voigtländer in Leipzig: No. 40, Die hugenottischen Märtyrer von Lyon und Johannes Calvin; 42, Lutherbüdnisse; 68, Myconius, Geschichte der Reformation; 71 and 81, Der deutsche Bauernkrieg in zeitgenössischen Quellenzeugnissen; 73, Luther und der Wormser Reichstag 1521.

our review. The vast labor of special investigators which has marked recent years has not yet made sufficient progress, and fundamental questions are still too unsettled, to permit a comprehensive discussion from new points of view. *Reimann's* book, however, calls for mention. With admirable clearness the huge subject of Reformation and Counter-Reformation has here been covered in small compass, without undue abbreviation. Not only the political and ecclesiastical history but also intellectual and social conditions are portrayed with critical accuracy. The judgments are nicely weighed, and although rendered from a frankly Protestant point of view, they are never unfair or ill-natured. The learned apparatus, with which the author is evidently perfectly familiar, is omitted, and the book is agreeable reading. — *Köhler's* brief account also merits special notice, if only because of the author's distinguished place among historians of the Reformation. His theme is the Reformation as a problem in the history of civilization; he gives neither a biography of Luther nor a summary of German history, but a discussion of two questions: What was Luther's part in the Reformation in Germany? and What does the human race owe to this human movement? It may be supplemented with *Hauck's* addresses, simple in form but rich in thought, in which the eminent author of the "*Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*" has treated the piety, moral standards, church, state, public worship, and intellectual life of the era of the Reformation. — On the Catholic side, *Janssen's* comprehensive work, first published in 1878 and the succeeding years, is still looked upon to-day as the weapon with which the supremacy of Ranke's celebrated work on the German Reformation was broken. The great influence of Janssen's book is shown by the recent appearance of a new edition (the 19th and 20th) of the first and most important volume of the eight. Pastor, the editor of this as of the last previous edition (1897), has endeavored to eliminate or conceal the weaknesses and onesided views involved in Janssen's pronounced confessional attitude. Although the changes in the text are limited to what was absolutely necessary, Pastor has in the notes set forth the opposing views on a large scale. These three stout volumes furnish a

vast storehouse which cannot be ignored by serious students. On many points, beginning with the third of these volumes, Pastor's own History of the Papacy (*infra*, p. 41) gives important supplementary matter.

If among the many monographs concerned with single sections of the Reformation period I notice only *Kalkoff's* book, I do not mean thereby to pass an unfavorable judgment on others which I do not mention. But I want expressly to direct the attention of American scholars to the great accomplishments of the Breslau professor, who unquestionably occupies one of the very first positions among special investigators. The work on our list contains, as it were, the quintessence of his investigations. To omit all learned references must have involved self-denial on the author's part, for he could have pointed out discoveries of his own on almost every page. This method, advantageous to the ordinary reader bent only on general impressions, will be regretted by the special student. He will meet at every turn statements new to him or capable of casting a new light on what is familiar, and he would like to have the evidence at hand or be told the source of further information. We can only advise reading the many books and articles in which, with fresh points of view, Kalkoff has taken as the subject of his research the decisive years of the Reformation, ever since in 1886 he entered the ranks of investigators with his monograph, "Die Depeschen des Nuntius Alexander." They are by no means so well known or so much used as they deserve to be.³

Von Below's book, which grew out of a rectoral address at the University of Freiburg, can claim the attention of scholars by its wealth of ideas. Against the ever-recurring efforts to explain the Reformation by economic and social causes, or to refer it to the interests of the civil powers (that is, of the great nobles), or to assign the chief part to the efforts of humanism, he rightly insists on the principle that the deepest root of the Reformation was religious, and Luther's action the decisive

³ A survey of Kalkoff's books and articles down to 1918 will be found in my review in the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 96, 1918, pp. 144-155. Of his late monographs the most important are his book on Hutten (*infra*, p. 16) and his definitive treatise on the Diet of Worms, viii, 422 pp., Munich and Berlin, Oldenbourg, 1922.

force. This likewise answers the question whether Luther and his work mark the moment of transition from old to new, from the Middle Ages to the development of the modern world. This question has dominated historical discussion since it was raised by Troeltsch in his well-known address, "Die Bedeutung des Protestantismus für die Entstehung der modernen Welt" (1906; 2d ed. 1911). Troeltsch saw the full expression of the modern spirit not in the Reformation, weighted down with its mediæval ballast, but in the "Enlightenment" of a later date, with its conscious hostility to supernaturalism. In opposition to this view, von Below emphasizes the fundamental importance of the fact that as the essence of the religious act Luther substituted a faith gained by a personal, inner decision for an ecclesiastical faith after the fashion of mediæval scholasticism; and in this he is right. But he gives no corresponding estimate of the Enlightenment, which has determined the modern man's notion of the world and general philosophic attitude (Wolff, *infra*, p. 22). This is not the place to debate this far-reaching issue; von Below's discussion has distinct value, and besides these general considerations his knowledge of the legal and economic aspects of mediæval life enables him to make many other instructive observations.⁴

The outbreak of the Reformation, as is well known, was brought about by the conflict over indulgences. The theological background of this conflict and the whole development of late mediæval penitential practice are thoroughly investigated by Gölle, professor of church history at Freiburg and Roman Catholic colleague of von Below. In connection with a hitherto unnoticed tract by Johannes Pfeffer of Weidenberg (†1493), professor of theology at Freiburg, he not only gives an instructive summary of the state of the problems involved, but makes contributions from his own studies, the outgrowth of his long occupation with the history of the Roman system of penance. New light is also thrown on the earlier Middle Ages and the beginning of the system of indulgences. The last chapter, on the opposition to indulgences and the position of the church,

⁴ As a supplement, see the same author's address, *Die Bedeutung der Reformation für die politische Entwicklung*, 38 pp., Leipzig, Teubner, 1918.

is free from confessional prejudice.⁵ — Beside the *gravamina nationis germanicae* which played their part in the diets about the year 1500, the complaints lodged by the cities against the clergy concerning dues to the latter, the property of the church, privileges, judicial practice, appointment to ecclesiastical offices, discipline, and rights of the civil authority, are symptoms of the anti-ecclesiastical unrest of the time. *Störmann* has given a graphic account of all this, and made it clear that here was the foundation for the revolt of discontented spirits against the church.

Aulén, from the point of view of the history of ideas, surveys the operation of reforming motives within Protestantism, with special reference to the development in Sweden. — *Gleditsch*, by a few vivid strokes, sketches the successive phases of Protestantism, from Luther's religious experience through Orthodoxy, Pietism, Methodism, and Romanticism, to the problems of the present day. More strongly than *Troeltsch*, whose views he does not discuss, he emphasizes the virtual identity of the fundamental principle in spite of all variations. — *Göransson's* book is an important account of the Reformation, based on independent study of the sources and concerned chiefly with the motives of the Reformers' faith, and with the presuppositions and the spiritual individuality of these motives. The earlier chapters are historical and psychological; the later ones, systematic. — The new matter in *Holmquist's* History of the Reformation relates chiefly to the Reformation in Sweden (*infra*, p. 36). The treatment of Luther, Loyola, and Calvin emphasizes both the historical connections of the three great personalities and their individual characteristics. — *Sjögren* depicts in popular style the powerful influence of the Reformation on the printer's art. Unfortunately the War prevented the publication of his projected work on the book-ornamentation of the Swedish Reformation (*O. Scheel, Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1920, col. 275).

⁵ Since the main emphasis of Göller's book is on the late Middle Ages, it retains its value even though *Nikolaus Paulus*, our highest authority in this field, has at last gathered into a single work his numerous scattered studies on the subject of indulgences, *Die Geschichte des Ablasses im Mittelalter vom Ursprunge bis zur Mitte des XIV. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols.; xii, 392 pp.; iii, 364 pp.; Münster, Aschendorff, 1922.

II. GERMANY AND SWITZERLAND

a. Reformers and their Opponents

ANABAPTISTS. *Schubert, Hans von*, Der Kommunismus der Wiedertäufer in Münster und seine Quellen (SAH). 58 pp. Heidelberg, Winter, 1919.

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COCHLAEUS. *Herte, Adolf*, Die Lutherbiographie des Johannes Cochlaeus. (Münster dissertation.) iv, 62 pp. Münster, Aschendorff, 1915. — *Schweitzer, Joseph*, ed., Johannes Cochlaeus, Adversus cucullatum Minotaurum Wittenbergensem de sacramentorum gratia iterum (1523) (Corpus Catholicorum 3). viii, 66 pp. Münster, Aschendorff, 1920.

ECK. *Greving, Joseph*, ed., Johann Eck, Defensio contra amarulentas Doctoris Andreae Bodenstein Carolstatini invectiones (1518) (Corpus Catholicorum 1). viii, 76, 96 pp. Münster, Aschendorff, 1919. — *Brandt, August*, Johann Ecks Predigtstätigkeit an Unsere Liebe Frau zu Ingolstadt (Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte 27-28). xii, 239 pp. Münster, Aschendorff, 1919. — *Schauerte, Heinrich*, Die Busslehre des Johannes Eck (*ibid.* 38-39). xx, 250 pp. 1919.

ERASMUS. *Burger, Otto*, Erasmus von Rotterdam und der Spanier Vives. (Munich dissertation.) 80 pp. Kempten, Kögel, 1914. — *Kalkoff, Paul*, Erasmus, Luther und Friedrich der Weise (SchrVRG 132). xviii, 118 pp. Leipzig, Haupt, 1919. — *Köhler, Walther*, Desiderius Erasmus. Ein Lebensbild in Auszügen aus seinen Werken (Die Klassiker der Religion hrsg. von Gustav Pfannmüller 12-13). 239 pp. Berlin, Hutten-Verlag, 1917. — *Mestwerdt, Paul*, Die Anfänge des Erasmus (Studien zur Kultur und Geschichte der Reformation hrsg. vom Verein für Reformationsgeschichte 2). xxxi, 343 pp. Leipzig, Haupt, 1917. — *Schröder, Artur*, Der moderne Mensch in Erasmus. Eine Untersuchung zur Frage nach der christlichen Weltanschauung. 79 pp. Leipzig, Deichert, 1919.

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HUTTEN. *Kalkoff, Paul*, Ulrich von Hutten und die Reformation (Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte 4). xv, 601 pp. Leipzig, Haupt, 1920.

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Kommentar zum Galaterbrief (1531–1535) und Vorlesungen über die Psalmen 2, 51, 45 (1532). v, 615 pp. 1914; vol. 44: Schluss der Genesisvorlesung. xxxvii, 825 pp. 1915; vol. 50: Schriften 1536–1539. ix, 690 pp. 1914; vol. 51: Predigten 1545–1546. Schriften 1540–1541. xvi, 733 pp. 1914; vol. 52: Hauspostille. xxxv, 842 pp. 1915; vol. 53: Schriften 1542–1543. vi, 678 pp. 1920. — *Deutsche Bibel*: vol. 5: Vulgata-Revision von 1529. xxvii, 804 pp. 1914. — *Tischreden*: vols. 3–6: xlv, 738 pp. 1914; xlv, 737 pp. 1916; xlv, 728 pp. 1919; xxxix, 724 pp. 1921. — *Luthers Werke* hrsg. von *Arnold E. Berger*. 3 vols. 92, 361, 383, 408 pp. Leipzig, Bibliographisches Institut. n. d. [1917]. — *Martin Luther. Ausgewählte Werke* hrsg. von *Hans Heinrich Borchardt*, vols. 1–3. cviii, 224 pp.; clxxxvi, 318 pp.; cix, 329 pp. Munich and Leipzig, Georg Müller, 1917–19. — *Luthers Vorlesung über den Galaterbrief 1516–1517, zum ersten Male* hrsg. von *Hans von Schubert* (Abhandlungen, Heidelberg Academy, 5). xvi, 72 pp. Facsimile. Heidelberg, Winter, 1918. — *Das Neue Testament Deutzsch. Vuittemberg. Neudruck der Septemberbibel von 1522, unter Mitarbeit von Gustav Kawerau und Otto Reichert* veranstaltet vom Furche-Verlag, Berlin, 1918. — *Dr. Martin Luthers Briefwechsel, bearbeitet von Ernst Ludwig Enders* (†) fortgesetzt von *Gustav Kawerau*. Vol. XV (1542–1544), viii, 371 pp.; vol. XVI (1544–1545), ix, 374 pp.; vol. XVII (1546, Nachlese) nach Kaweraus Tod hrsg. von *Paul Flemming*, xii, 384 pp. Leipzig, Haupt, 1914, 1915, 1920. — *Degering, H.*, *Aus Luthers Frühzeit. Briefe aus dem Eisenacher und Erfurter Lutherkreise 1497–1519* (Sonderdruck aus dem Zentralblatt für das Bibliothekswesen 33, pp. 69–95). Leipzig, Harrassowitz, 1916. — *Götze, Alfred*, *Frühneuhochdeutsches Glossar*. 2d edition, greatly enlarged (Kleine Texte hrsg. von Hans Lietzmann 101). xii, 240 pp. Bonn, Marcus & Weber, 1920.

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marer Lutherausgabe. vi, 285 pp. Weimar, Böhlau, 1917. — *Maarten Luther* in zijn leven en werken van 1483–1525. iii, 279 pp. Amsterdam, van Looij, 1917. — *Müller, Alphons Victor*, Luther und Tauler auf ihren theologischen Zusammenhang untersucht. 168 pp. Bern, Ferdinand Wyss, 1918; Luthers Werdegang bis zum Turmerlebnis. x, 140 pp. Gotha, Perthes, 1920. — *Neubauer, Theodor Th.*, Luthers Frühzeit. Seine Universitäts- und Klosterjahre: die Grundlage seiner geistigen Entwicklung. iv, 146 pp. Erfurt, Keyser, 1917. — *Paasche, Fredrik*, Luther. 108 pp. Christiania, Aschehoug, 1917. — *Rade, Martin*, Luthers Rechtfertigungsglaube, seine Bedeutung für die 95 Thesen und für uns (SV 82). 32 pp. Tübingen, Mohr, 1917. — *Runestam, Arvid*, Den kristliga friheten hos Luther och Melanchton. (Dissertation.) x, 285 pp. Stockholm, Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelse, 1917. — *Scheel, Otto*, Martin Luther. Vom Katholizismus zur Reformation. Vol. I, 3d ed. viii, 340 pp. Vol. II. x, 458 pp. Tübingen, Mohr, 1917, 1921. — *Schubart, Christof*, Die Berichte über Luthers Tod und Begräbnis. xii, 152 pp., 3 pls. Weimar, Böhlau, 1917. — *Schubert, Hans von*, Luthers Frühentwicklung (SchrVRG 124). 34 pp. Leipzig, Haupt, 1916. — *Schubert, Hans von*, and *Karl Meissinger*, Zu Luthers Vorlesungstätigkeit (SAH, 1920, 9). 47 pp. Heidelberg, Winter, 1920. — *Seeberg, Reinhold*, Die Lehre Luthers (Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte IV, 1). xii, 393 pp. Leipzig, Deichert, 1917. — *Söderblom, Nathan*, Humor och melankoli och andra Lutherstudier. x, 383 pp. Stockholm, Kristliga Studentrörelsenförlag, 1919. — *Thomas, Hedwig*, Zur Würdigung der Psalmenvorlesung Luthers von 1513–1515. 51 pp. Weimar, Böhlau, 1920. — *Wachters, H. J. J.*, Luther. Leven, persoon, leer. Met voorrede van Dr. Th. v. Oppenraaij. viii, 483 pp. Bossum, Brand, 1917. — *Walther, Wilhelm*, Luthers deutsche Bibel. vi, 218 pp. Berlin, Mittler, 1917; Die ersten Konkurrenten des Bibelübersetzers Luther. 77 pp. Leipzig, Deichert, 1917; Luthers Charakter. vi, 214 pp. *ibid.*, 1917. — *Wernle, Paul*, Der evangelische Glaube [see Calvin], I. Luther. vii, 321 pp. Tübingen, Mohr, 1918. — *Wolff, Richard*, Studien zu Luthers Weltanschauung (Historische Bibliothek 43). viii, 65 pp. Munich and Berlin, Oldenbourg, 1920. — *Wünsch, Georg*, Die Bergpredigt bei Luther. iv, 228 pp. Tübingen, Mohr, 1920.

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ZWINGLI. Works. Huldreich Zwinglis sämtliche Werke. Unter Mitwirkung des Zwingli-Vereins in Zürich hrsg. von *Emil Egli* (†), *Georg Finsler* und *Walther Köhler*. Vol. III, iv, 913 pp.; Vol. VIII (= Briefwechsel 2), iv, 824 pp.; Vol. IV, pp. 1-480; Vol. IX (= Briefwechsel 3), pp. 1-480 (Corpus Reformatorum 90, 91, 95, 96). Leipzig, Heinsius, 1914-1918. — Ulrich Zwingli, Eine Auswahl aus seinen Schriften. Hrsg. von *Georg Finsler*, *Arnold Rüegg*, *Walther Köhler*. viii, 829 pp. Zürich, Schulthess, 1918. — Huldrych Zwinglis Briefe. Uebersetzt von *Oskar Farner*. Vol. I. xi, 255 pp. Zürich, Rascher, 1918.

Monographs: *Burckhardt, Paul*, Huldreich Zwingli (Schriften für Schweizer Art und Kunst 74-77). 136 pp. Zürich, Rascher, 1918. — *Escher, Hermann*, ed., Ulrich Zwingli. Zum Gedächtnis der Züricher Reformation 1519-1919 herausgegeben. 450 pp. 184 pls. Zürich, Buchdruckerei des Berichtshauses, 1919. — *Köhler, Walther*, Ulrich Zwingli und die Reformation in der Schweiz (Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher, 4th series, 30-31). 101 pp. Tübingen, Mohr, 1919; Armenpflege und Wohltätigkeit in Zürich zur Zeit Ulrich Zwinglis. 56 pp. Zürich, Beer, 1919; Die Geisteswelt Ulrich Zwinglis (Brücken 3). viii, 156 pp. Gotha, Perthes, 1920. — *Pestalozzi, Theodor*, Die Gegner Zwinglis am Grossmünsterstift in Zürich (Schweizer Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft 11, 1). 209 pp. Zürich, Leemann, 1918. — *Wernle, Paul*, Der evangelische Glaube (*supra*, Calvin) II: Zwingli. xvi, 362 pp. Tübingen, Mohr, 1919.

ANABAPTISTS. The Anabaptist movement at Münster in Westphalia (1534) culminated in the erection of a communistic theocracy, which claimed to be the centre of a universal revolution introducing the end of the world. As against the historians of the Marxian socialist school (for instance Kautsky), who try to understand this communism as a merely economic movement, *von Schubert* shows that its foundations were purely religious. In his inquiry into the spiritual sources of the movement he takes us back to the pseudo-clementine literature of the early centuries, which give a communistic interpretation of the account of the Jerusalem church in Acts, chap. 3. He shows how by a long process—in itself a history of misunderstanding, error, and falsification—the Clementine statements came into the hands of Sebastian Franck, the profound German mystic († 1542), who enlarged them, combined them with kindred ideas of ancient and of later origin, and brought them to popular attention. In this way the evangelical preacher Brendt Rothmann, the intellectual leader of the Münster Anabaptists,

gained knowledge of them. Then the apocalyptic idea, and finally the apocalyptic propaganda of action, attached themselves to them. This learned and suggestive monograph opens up new knowledge on this subject.

BUCER. Among the German Reformers who deserve to rank next after Luther and Melanchthon is Martin Bucer, or Butzer. He not only rendered large service to church and school in his own town of Strasburg, but also was an important and sound counsellor in general affairs, especially on questions of ecclesiastical politics, until the untoward fortunes of Protestantism led him to accept the professorship at Cambridge to which he was called by Archbishop Cranmer. No adequate biography of this worthy man exists, but the excellent account of his life and work by so competent an historian as *Anrich*, himself professor of theology at Strasburg until the end of the War, serves very well for the time being. Although primarily intended for the general reader, the book represents a substantial advance in critical investigation.

CALVIN. The jubilee celebration of 1909 called out a flood of works concerning the Genevan reformer; and although in the period covered by the present review little has been written about him, some monographs have appeared which deserve the notice of scholars. That by *Wernle*, professor of church history at Basel, is the first part of a work in three volumes, in which is to be presented the essence of the teachings of the three great reformers as derived from their own writings (*infra*, pp. 21, 27). The author would secure for the new generation of today and for the future the vital and lasting values of the Reformation period. In the case of Calvin an exposition of this sort is peculiarly fitting, since his *Institutio religionis christianae*, famous as it is, is but little read. It was no easy task so to handle the profound work as to make the vital, that is the reforming, element in it stand out effectively from the enormous mass of its theological material, but in this Wernle has been successful, using the various forms in which the *Institutio* appeared between 1536 and 1559. — *Dee's* Dutch dissertation, according to W. Köhler (*Theol. Lit. Ztg.* 1919, col. 152), is an important addition to the investigation of Calvin, and also, by its

frequent comparisons with Luther and Melancthon, makes a valuable contribution to the history of Protestant dogma in general. — *Bauer* has gathered together in its completeness and presented suggestively the material on Calvin's relations with the reformed church of the German imperial city of Frankfort-on-the-Main, in which he worked at two different times (1539 and 1556) and with the leading members of which he exchanged many letters. *Bauer's* view that Calvin set great hope upon this city for the progress of Union-protestantism, is controverted by *W. Bornemann* (Theol. Lit. Ztg. 1921, cols. 200 ff.), who points out that Calvin's connections with Frankfort were occasioned by special determining circumstances, not by any far-reaching considerations of church policy.

COCHLAEUS. Among Luther's embittered opponents was Johannes Dobeneck of Wendelstein, called Cochlaeus, who, after trying in vain at the Diet of Worms to find a common ground with the great reformer, attacked him in numerous larger and smaller writings. His tract on the Minotaur in a Monk's Cowl, over against whom Cochlaeus himself plays the part of Theseus, is the answer to a pamphlet by Luther directed against him. If Luther's polemical utterances are often disagreeable reading, that is still more the case with the invectives of his intellectually inferior adversary; but it is only fair that the latter should have his say, and this justifies *Schweizer's* critically unimpeachable publication of the work in the *Corpus Catholicorum*.⁶ — We may welcome also the dissertation of *Herte*, a pupil of Greving, which is a trust-

⁶ During the War a "Gesellschaft zur Ausgabe des Corpus Catholicorum," that is, the works of Catholic writers "im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung," was founded at the instance of Professor Joseph Greving of Münster. Since his death in 1919 the work has been taken up by Stephan Ehse, director of the Roman Institute of the Görres-Gesellschaft. Five numbers have been issued, Heft 1, Eck, and Heft 3, Cochlaeus, falling within the period of this survey. Heft 2 (1921) contains Eck, *Epistola de ratione studiorum suorum* (1523) and Erasmus Wolph, *De obitu Johannis Eckii* (1543), edited by Johannes Metzler (viii, 106 pp.); Heft 4 (1922), Hieronymus Emser, *De disputatione Lipsiensi, quantum ad Boemos obiter deflexa est*, and *A venatione Luteriana aegrocerotis assertio* (1519), edited by Franz Xaver Thurnhofer (viii, 112 pp.); Heft 5 (1922), Kaspar Schatzgeyer (Bavarian Franciscan), *Scrutinium divinae scripturae pro conciliatione dissidentium dogmatum* (1522), edited by Ulrich Schmidt (xxviii, 179 pp.). The critical principles of the series are fully explained in the first number.

worthy survey of the sources of Cochlaeus's chief work, the *Commentarius de actis et scriptis Martini Lutheri*.

ECK. Johann Mayr of Eck, Luther's most formidable antagonist in his earlier years, was a man of a different stamp from Cochlaeus. With him Luther and Karlstadt crossed swords at the Leipzig Disputation in 1519. He has deservedly attracted attention in Catholic circles of late, and very properly the Corpus Catholicorum was initiated with one of his writings, earlier even than the meeting at Leipzig, in which he replies to a set of theses directed against him by Karlstadt. *Greving's* edition is a model, especially in identifying the countless quotations and allusions of the theses to the scholastic writings on prayer of the late Middle Ages. The introduction is valuable. — Useful also is *Brandt's* publication of passages from a note book of Eck's, preserved in a manuscript of the Hof- und Staatsbibliothek at Munich. Beside holding a professorship at Ingolstadt, Eck was for many years pastor of the Frauenkirche there, and in this book he entered the notes for his sermons. Brandt gives a selection from these, and uses them skilfully to illustrate the personality of the preacher. — Students of the subject should also read *Schauerte's* work. He brings before us Eck the polemic writer and apologist, defending the church doctrine of penance against the reformers. The author not only presents Eck's teaching, but throws light upon it historically from all sides, and compares with it the opposite view.

ERASMUS. Two opposite judgments are passed on the great Rotterdam scholar's relation to the Reformation. The one party emphasizes the fact that in spite of all his rationalism and of his sharp criticism of ecclesiastical abuses and ecclesiastical institutions, and in spite of his strong, almost modern, relativism, he yet never left the ground of the mediæval church. This seems to be *Schröder's* view. *Kalkoff*, on the contrary, has for many years maintained the opinion that, at least in the early years of the Reformation, 1517–1521, Erasmus strove with full conviction to find a common ground with Luther, seeing in the reformer's activity the fulfilment of his own endeavors; but that in his shrewd, mediating fashion, he had always tried, through clever influence on the political

rulers and with the help of public opinion, to avert the dangers involved in the character of his associate. The chief ground for this view Kalkoff finds in the negotiations at Cologne preceding the Diet of Worms. He has certainly traced very warily the threads of the development of the temporary alliance between Erasmus, Luther, and the Elector of Saxony. But he will scarcely be convincing when he maintains that the great humanist really understood the revolutionary element in Luther's piety. To claim him, as Kalkoff does in his concluding chapter, as "a champion of the German Reformation" seems to put in the wrong light a man who by nature was no fighter, and who, with his cosmopolitan temper, could not feel in any national sense as a German, not to mention that in the subsequent development of the Reformation a complete break ensued between Erasmus and Luther. In spite, however, of so fundamental a difference of opinion, it must not be forgotten that Kalkoff has rendered useful service for the investigation of Erasmus in numberless points of detail. — Only with sadness can I write of the book of *Mestwerdt*. The author fell, fighting for his country, at the age of twenty-six. How highly he was esteemed by teachers and friends is shown in the preface, by Hans von Schubert, and the sketch of his life, from the pen of the well-known orientalist Carl Heinrich Becker. A man mature beyond his years, he had, with astonishing breadth of view and talent for understanding, mastered a highly important subject; for, strange to say, no one before this youth Mestwerdt had even attempted with adequate equipment to investigate and elucidate the origins of Erasmus. He introduces us first to the spiritual antecedents of the ideal of piety which possessed Erasmus — the two worlds of Humanism and of the *devotio moderna*; then, with a minute analysis of the development of Erasmus himself, he traces the influence upon him of these fundamental determinative tendencies. Unhappily the work ends with the sojourn in Paris and a study of the influence of scholasticism, lacking an account of the visit to England, which was perhaps the most important period of his youthful development. We must be grateful, however, for what we have, with its combination of broad

vision and careful detail. — As the writings of Erasmus are so difficult of access, I am glad to mention the excellent selection which *Köhler* has published (in a fluent translation and provided with explanatory introductions) from the *Enchiridion militis christiani*, *Encomion morias*, *Institutio principis christiani*, the introduction to the edition of the New Testament, the *Ratio seu methodus compendio perveniendi ad veram theologiam*, and the *De libero arbitrio*. — Among the humanists of the Renaissance who occupied themselves with the theory of pedagogics, the Spaniard Juan Luis Vives (1492–1540) holds a distinguished place. His relation to Erasmus has been investigated by *Burger*, who finds no conclusive reason for supposing that Erasmus was dependent on his thought in this field.

HUBMAIER. Balthasar Hubmaier, a pupil of Eck at Ingolstadt, later a Lutheran, and finally an Anabaptist and as such burnt at the stake in Moravia in 1528, entered the strife of opinions with a number of pamphlets. *Sachsse* has read through this out-of-the-way literature, and in the first part of his book gives a detailed analysis of its contents. The second part describes, so far as the sources permit, the theological development of Hubmaier; while the third is an attempt at a systematic exposition of his theology. Some new source-material is added in appendices, such as the treatise in which Hubmaier attempted to justify himself during his trial before King Ferdinand, putting his relation to the Catholic faith in as favorable a light as possible. Although Hubmaier has no claim to be named beside the great men of the Reformation, yet he is a figure not without interest. In the Peasants' War of Upper Germany, too, he had a rôle, and he is sometimes credited with the authorship of the revolutionary program of the "Twelve Articles." *Sachsse*, like his teacher *Böhmer*, rejects this theory.

HUTTEN. The form of the title of *Kalkoff's* book is to be noted. With all its inclusiveness, this is not a complete biography of Hutten, but essentially a study of his attitude during the decisive years of the Reformation, 1519–1921. With great seriousness and on the basis of thorough studies, *Kalkoff* rejects the view (accepted by historians without criticism since

the appearance of David Friedrich Strauss's biography) that Hutten is to be given a conspicuous place among the paladins of Luther. He certainly does well to remind us that Luther himself did not in his heart set much store by the alliance which Hutten offered him. His famous letter to Spalatin, of January 16, 1521, tells how he had answered Hutten in a letter, which has unfortunately perished: "I do not want the battle for the gospel to be fought with violence and bloodshed. I have written so to the man." But Kalkoff goes much farther and leaves the valiant knight, and still more his friend and protector Sickingen, no scrap of good character. Even in his own special field of literary polemic against Rome, he denies him any depth of feeling, calling him a man "of empty, excited rhetoric," and his dialogues "superficial rubbish" ("*oberflächliche Machwerke*"). In my opinion such exaggerations refute themselves. On the other hand it would be unjust to take them as a gauge of the extremely valuable contribution to knowledge which the book makes. A reëxamination will speedily follow, but, as W. Köhler says in his exhaustive review (*Theol. Lit. Ztg.* 1921, col. 158), the book requires a new book, not mere critical comments, to refute it. And even if Kalkoff's judgment on the man's general character is finally rejected, yet his keen criticism will compel a large revision of the views previously held.

LUTHER. *Works*. Dr. Preserved Smith will not deem it discourtesy if I assemble in my bibliography the most important of the German writings on Luther, which for the most part are also mentioned in his article (*supra*, p. 2). At best I can include only a small selection from a great abundance of works, and the articles in periodicals, often very important, must be omitted altogether. The following observations are merely intended to supplement those of Dr. Smith.

First of all we may note that the gigantic undertaking of the *Weimar edition* is almost completed, in spite of the unfavorable conditions due to the War. Only four volumes (XVII. 2, XXI, XXII, LIV) of the Writings and one (IV) of the German Bible are lacking.⁷ Probably another volume of addenda, in-

⁷ This last mentioned volume, the 18th of the series, has since appeared, edited, after the death of Flemming, by Otto Albrecht (xiv, 198 pp., 1923).

dices, etc., will follow, and it is proposed to publish also Luther's famous youthful lectures, of which only those on the Psalms were included in the early volumes of the edition. Of prime importance among the volumes listed above is the collection of Table Talk edited by *Kroker*, for this is almost virgin soil and we can get here for the first time a correct notion of these sayings, so important for the understanding of Luther the man. The Table Talk is unique, having perhaps no parallel, at least on any such scale, in theological literature. — Among the countless editions of selections from Luther that have appeared in recent years, two are especially worthy of attention outside Germany — those of *Berger* and *Borcherdt* — the former because in it one of our foremost Luther scholars (*infra*, p. 19) presents according to the strictest canons of criticism the most important of Luther's German writings in their original form, the latter because every lover of books will take pleasure in its beautiful appearance. It would be too bad if economic considerations should prevent the completion of *Borcherdt's* edition, of which only the first three volumes have as yet appeared. Eminent scholars are coöperating in it. *Kalkoff's* book, reviewed above (p. 5), is but the reprint of his introduction to the second volume of this edition.

The manuscript which *von Schubert* has used for his edition princeps of the lectures on the Epistle to the Galatians (*infra*, p. 20, *von Schubert-Meissinger*) comprises only the lecture-notes of a hearer of small talent, but with the lectures on the Psalms and the Epistle to the Romans we are now in possession of three of the major exegetical lecture-courses of the young Wittenberg professor. Hebrews is still lacking (*infra*, p. 20, *Ficker*). — The new letter-perfect reprint of the "*September Bibel*," from the *Furcheverlag* in Berlin, is a little masterpiece of modern book-printing. — The *Erlangen edition* of the Letters is nearly finished, lacking only one volume, which will contain supplementary material from the period 1537-1546 and some undated pieces.⁸ — Whether it will be possible to complete the Weimar edition with a publication of the Letters,

⁸ Volume LIII, *Die Lieder Luthers*, edited by W. Lucke (xii, 634 pp.), was published in 1923.

which even the labors of *Kawerau* and *Flemming* have not made superfluous, remains to be seen. Of the three letters ascribed to Luther by *Degering* (see Smith, pp. 108 ff.) *Kawerau* and *Flemming* give only two (September 5, 1501, and April 28, 1507), not that of February 23, 1503, and the first of these (1501) with a question as to its genuineness. (The present writer doubts this as little as does Smith.) — Every student of Luther's writings in the original form will be glad to know of the revised edition of *Götze's* glossary. It is admirably done.

Monographs. The quatercentenary jubilee year brought forth a swarm of biographies of Luther, but they are mostly of a popular sort and need not be noticed here. *Scheel's* is an exception, but for this let me refer the reader to Dr. Smith's article, only expressing my regret that pressure of other work has so far prevented the publication of the third volume. These years before 1517, especially in view of the increase of available original sources in the last few decades, need to be thoroughly studied anew. — *Böhmer's* work, originating in a course of lectures on recent Luther-studies and first published in 1906, now appears in expanded form. It is not strictly a biography, though it contains much useful information about Luther not found in the ordinary books. In the meantime it has become known in America through a translation which appeared in 1916. — *Berger* has interrupted his well-known *Life of Luther* ⁹ to publish a separate volume on Luther's relation to the general life of his time. In four lengthy chapters he presents the reformer as ecclesiastical founder and theologian, as teacher of ethics and social subjects, in his significance for learning, education, and art, and finally as the hero of our national literature. In the last chapter especially the author's talent for exposition is at its best. He is well equipped for this subject, being not a professional theologian but a Germanist. — A number of well-known Dutch scholars, under the lead of *A. W. Bronsveld*, *J. W. Pont*, and *J. A. Rust*, have brought

⁹ The first two volumes of this *Life*, which emphasized especially Luther's influence on German civilization, appeared in 1895 and 1898, the third and last (x, 370 pp.) in 1921.

together a group of separate studies on Luther's life and teaching down to 1525; their special knowledge of the Dutch Reformation and literature enables them to contribute many valuable points (see O. Scheel, *Theol. Lit. Ztg.* 1919, cols. 294 ff.).

For the time before 1517 we recommend *Neubauer*, who has discovered in local history much new material for the Erfurt period, and *von Schubert*, whose independent judgment never fails. But the writings of *Müller*, formerly a Dominican, now a Protestant, merit special attention because their author's own experience has given him an insight into many phases of the great reformer's development. He makes extensive use of his intimate knowledge of monastic life at the close of the Middle Ages, especially in reply to Scheel; he is often right, but the manners of his polemic against fellow investigators like Köhler and Scheel are quite objectionable. His main thesis, that Luther is to be associated with an Augustinian tradition which had been kept alive in his order from early scholastic times, and of which Tauler was intermediary, will be received with some skepticism by other scholars.¹⁰—The studies on Luther as a lecturer, by Ficker, von Schubert and Meissinger, and Fräulein Thomas, should not be overlooked. *Ficker*, in his address at the Reformation jubilee, made extensive use of Luther's lectures on the Epistle to the Hebrews of 1517, using a manuscript in the Vatican Library with corrections from one in Dessau. Previously these lectures had been known only through extracts given in Denifle's book on Luther. What *Ficker* publishes in the notes to his address increases the hope that the whole of the lectures may later be printed. In them Luther appears to have brought his idea of faith to the simplest form of statement.—The monograph by *von Schubert* and *Meissinger* contains (1) a comprehensive review of Luther's work as lecturer, from the summer of 1513 (Psalms) to the winter of 1515 (Genesis), and (2) important additions to the edition of the lectures on Galatians, into which, because of the extreme difficulty of reading the manuscript, many errors had found their way.—Fräulein *Thomas*, after minute study,

¹⁰ See Müller's latest publications and Robert H. Pfeiffer's notice of them in this *REVIEW*, vol. XV, 1922, pp. 297-299.

concludes that the fundamental development of Luther's reformatory convictions must have taken place while he was preparing the first course of lectures on the Psalms. In the lectures themselves contradictory ideas appear side by side. But while the explanations of Psalms 10, 18, 79, 121, conform to the older exegesis, the *vocabulary* of Psalm 1 clearly exhibits the new discoveries. The two forms of the scholia to Psalm 4 plainly reveal the progress of Luther's thought even during his first labor on the Psalter, but the *terminus ad quem* for the new knowledge is shown by the remarks on the first Psalm, since these make the opening lecture. — *Albrecht* has made available for a wider circle of readers the studies of Luther's catechisms which he made for Vol. XXX of the Weimar edition. He holds to the view that the title "Enchiridion" (cf. *infra*, p. 23, Lundström), which first appears in the second and third Wittenberg editions of 1529, originated with Luther himself. For the opposite view, see K. Knoke (Theol. Lit. Ztg. 1917, cols. 79 f.), who gives good reasons for setting this title to the account of Schirlitz the printer. — The contributors to the Weimar edition published for the jubilee celebration of the Reformation a collection of *Lutherstudien*, in fifteen papers, which contain important *parerga* to their work, as well as other essays. — Through *Schubart's* book the discussion of critics over Luther's death and burial is definitely closed. These accounts have nowhere else been collected so completely or examined so thoroughly. The book is uniform with the Weimar edition. — *Kawerau*, in answer to an urgent demand from university circles, drew up a list for teachers and students of all the published writings of Luther, with references to the manuscript or other sources. This imposing catalogue contains 616 items, in itself a proof of the prodigious literary activity of the reformer. — Two valuable treatises on Luther's thought in general are those of *Wernle* and *Seeberg*. The former, noticed above under Calvin, is in the main only a general introduction to the subject, but *Seeberg* meets us with all the apparatus of profound learning. Although his volume is published as a part of his text-book on the history of dogma, it is complete in itself as a statement of Luther's teaching. — *Jordan*, professor of

church history at Erlangen, who died, still a young man, in 1922, is known to scholars through a number of valuable pieces of work. His investigation of Luther's doctrine of the state shows a finely balanced judgment, and as a mine of information on Luther's utterances, which are given in full, is indispensable. — The name of *Walther*, professor of church history at Rostock, is also familiar to students of Luther. He is the highest authority on Luther's Bible, and his studies on the subject need no recommendation. His fine book on Luther's character is distinguished by unsurpassed knowledge and by sound appraisal of the reformer's scattered sayings, in which Walther finds himself able to explain the apparent contradictions as radiations from a character that had grown into thorough self-consistency. — *Wolff* and *Wünsch* take up the questions raised by Troeltsch. To Preserved Smith's criticism (p. 130, note 143) that Wolff carries too far Troeltsch's claim that Luther belongs to the Middle Ages, it may be remarked that the younger scholar lays stress upon the distinction between progress of ideas and chronology, between the history of thought and that of outward conditions, and that only in the former aspects thus contrasted, not in the latter, does Luther belong to the mediæval world. As a check on von Below's mode of approach (*supra*, p. 5) Wolff's book deserves consideration. — Following a suggestion of Troeltsch in his "Soziallehren" (p. 479), *Wünsch* discusses the relation of Luther to the Sermon on the Mount. The reader observes that the author is himself oppressed by the difficult problem of the requirements of duty in this world and in the next, and from this position is seeking to make intelligible Luther's own handling of such problems. He weakens the effect of his discussion by diffuseness.

Billing's work is the beginning of an acute examination of Luther's development, especially in the years 1517–1521. While Otto Ritschl, in his "Dogmengeschichte des Protestantismus," draws a distinction between Luther's assurance of salvation in the future and in the present, Billing takes the other view, that the oneness of the two conceptions became more and more firmly established with the passing of the years.

— *Dymling's* book is of a popular type but founded on study of the sources. — *Holmquist* also writes for general readers, but his book is the best life of Luther in Swedish, and has already been translated into Danish, Norwegian, English, Finnish, and Tamul. — *Lundström* (†192-), professor of church history at Upsala, gives us in his two books a study of the oldest Swedish editions of the Lesser Catechism. The earliest extant edition is that of 1567, but there is good reason for thinking that an edition had appeared in 1540-1549. — *Paasche's* attempt to explain Luther's personality as due to divine "possession" is clever and interesting, but not free from exaggerations. In this power of a personal faith and in its driving force after the fashion of the prophets of old, he sees the point of union for the obvious contradictions in Luther's life and teaching. — *Runestam* discusses the idea of Christian freedom in Luther and Melanchthon, tracing its origins and expounding it systematically. — *Söderblom*, the widely known Swedish archbishop, starting from the two complementary traits of human nature, humor and melancholy, paints a brilliant picture of the personality and religious character of Luther. He brings out the significance for the history of religion of Luther's destruction of the classical ideal of saintliness, and on the other hand shows that his melancholy rested on his natural temperament and was not merely the expression of his own sense of guilt.

MELANCHTHON. What I said last year in this REVIEW (vol. XV, p. 372) of St. Francis and St. Dominic is true in perhaps greater measure of Luther and Melanchthon. While scholars and writers of every sort cannot say enough about the former, the latter scarcely sets a single pen in motion, however often his name may be mentioned, especially by Germans. Even in the years of commemoration, 1917-1921, nothing of moment was published on Melanchthon. All the more welcome then is the progress made in the *Supplementa Melanchthoniana* by which it is intended to complete the great edition in the *Corpus Reformatorum*. The substantial volume published by *Cohrs* shows us Melanchthon as a catechist in the whole extent of his work: and on this very little has heretofore been

known. Eleven texts of greater or less extent are published, beautifully printed and very carefully edited, with an exhaustive introduction and a most accurate bibliography, making the whole an extremely valuable addition to our resources.

OECOLAMPADIUS. As a preliminary study for a complete biography of the reformer of Basel, *Staehelin* prints a list of all publications which pass under the name of Oecolampadius, including those of doubtful genuineness. He lists 226 items, and even these are not all (see Köhler, *Th. Lit. Ztg.* 1919, col. 205).

ORTHODOX THEOLOGY. On this subject two important works have appeared. As is well known, Aristotelianism, of which Luther would have none, was revived in early Protestant theology under the influence of Melanchthon and those who agreed with him, and became the determining factor for the doctrine of the Principia, especially for the relation of reason and revelation. Among modern scholars Troeltsch first called attention to this subject in his famous first book (1891), on Johann Gerhard, the leader in dogmatic theology, and Melanchthon. Others have followed him, notably Emil Weber in his studies on the "Philosophic Scholasticism of German Protestantism in the Period of Orthodoxy" (1904) and on the "Influence of the Protestant Scholastic Philosophy on Orthodox Lutheran Dogmatics" (1908). *Althaus*¹¹ has now taken up the same theme for German Reformed theology, and in three long chapters discusses (1) the relation of philosophy and theology; (2) reason and revelation, natural theology; (3) the doctrine of religious certainty. Dull as the subject is when we consider the narrowness of many of the intellects whose thoughts are here spread before us, yet its general importance is large. For they were no imaginary problems with which this scholasticism wrestled, any more than were those of the middle and later mediæval scholasticism. The fundamental questions remain today as vital as ever, changing only in form. — This can be seen even by a glance at the ponderous book of *Petersen*. A philosopher, not a theologian, he has concentrated his study on the history of Aristotelianism in German philosophy since

¹¹ Two university professors bear the name Paul Althaus, the father at Leipzig and the son at Rostock. Our author is the latter.

the Reformation, and has traced this history from Melanchthon to the Enlightenment, which again turned away from the Stagirite. He fills a real gap, for although the histories of modern philosophy discuss the French philosophers from Descartes, and the English, beginning with Bacon, we have had no history of German philosophy before Leibnitz and Kant. — *Fehrman* traces the doctrine of justification from Luther to the Formula of Concord.

OSIANDER. Andreas Osiander, pastor at Nuremberg and later court-preacher at Königsberg, belonged to the second generation of Reformation theologians, and occasioned some unkind discussion by his supposed leaning toward a Catholic doctrine of justification. There has been no thorough study of him from the sources before the present one by *Hirsch*, now professor at Göttingen and editor of the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, one of the most promising of our younger church historians. His book is one of the most important contributions to the history of the Reformation that have appeared in our period. With capital discernment he has found the genesis of Osiander's thought, and so has been able to trace the lines of connection between the young Osiander and Luther more clearly than was hitherto possible. His exposition of the moving principles of Osiander's later views is also excellent, as is his estimate of Osiander's position in the history of theology, in which the latter comes off better than his opponents would have liked. Osiander's (to say the least) easily misunderstood mode of expressing himself *Hirsch* does not try to defend. Whoever has courage seriously to take hold of the complications of early Protestant orthodox thought, will find in *Hirsch* an excellent guide.

ZWINGLI. Although the four-hundredth anniversary of the beginning of the Reformation in Switzerland (1518) did not produce any such mass of literature as did the year 1917 in Germany, yet the crop of learning was not inconsiderable. Foremost stands the critical edition of Zwingli's works in the *Corpus Reformatorum*. It made steady progress during the War but came to a standstill in 1918, partly through financial difficulties but chiefly in consequence of the death of Finsler,

one of the two editors, which left the whole burden on the shoulders of Köhler. The edition meets the severest demands of scholarship, and is the more important as the last previous edition, that of Schuler and Schulthess, is nearly a century old. The introductions to the separate writings and the explanatory notes are especially valuable. — For a student who does not need the whole of Zwingli, the selection from his works published by the ecclesiastical authorities of the canton of Zürich can be highly recommended. It contains all that is essential, including a good index. The letters are not included, but their place is well supplied by *Farner's* translation.¹² Though Zwingli's letters are not to be compared with Luther's for richness and depth of contents, yet they bring the reformer as a man vividly before us. — Particularly valuable are the studies of Zwingli by the professor of church history at Zürich, *W. Köhler*, a German who has been in Switzerland for now more than ten years. In the modest dress of the series of "Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher" (Tübingen, Mohr), he covers almost too much ground. The expert will find in this small book numerous detailed observations of which he must take note, as might be expected in a work by the editor of Zwingli, who has profoundly studied the life of his hero. — *Köhler's* book, "Die Geisteswelt Zwinglis," is by no means a repetition of the Life, being quite differently conceived. The author's aim is to show how Zwingli's thought took shape, and so to present Zwinglian theology not in historical form but according to a systematic scheme, yet unembarrassed by dogmatic barriers. Going back everywhere to the sources, he seeks to prove the truth of the saying with which Luther parted from Zwingli in 1529: "You have another spirit than ours." Zwingli lived indeed in a different spiritual world from that of his great Wittenberg opponent. Faith and knowledge, reason and revelation, rationality and irrationality, the ancient philosophical conceptions and Christian supernaturalism, stand facing one another, and after all the question is, Can a

¹² The second volume of these letters, coming down to 1526, has appeared more recently (271 pp., 1921). The work cannot be finished until the publication of the letters in the Corpus is completed.

bridge be built between Christianity and the ancient world? ("Bridges" is the title of the series in which Köhler's book appears.) The book undertakes to be a contribution to the answering of this question.¹³ — *Burckhardt* gives a brief characterization, paying attention to everything that is important and using the sources carefully. — For *Wernle's* work, compare what is said above under Calvin. — *Pestalozzi*, in a monograph proceeding from Köhler's school, approaches Zwingli from the side of the Catholic opposition in Zürich, the centre of which lay in the clergy of the Cathedral. The author has studied exhaustively the documents in the city archives, and turns new light on Zwingli's connection with humanism and the Reformation. (Cf. W. Köhler, *Theol. Lit. Ztg.* 1919, cols. 248 f.) — Finally, I would call attention to the magnificent work in which, under the direction of *Escher*, the Zwingli-Verein, the Staatsarchiv, the Zentralbibliothek, and the Stiftung für wissenschaftliche Forschung in Zürich have combined to honor Zwingli's memory. Besides containing a great number of important papers by competent scholars, it is very fully illustrated with portraits and specimens (admirable both technically and artistically) of the manuscripts of Zwingli and his fellow-workers.

b. Territories

Arbusow, Leonid, Wolter von Plettenberg und der Untergang des deutschen Ordens in Preussen (Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte 131). 85 pp. Leipzig, Haupt, 1919. — *Bergmann, Cornelius*, Die Tauferebewegung im Kanton Zürich bis 1660 (Quellen und Abhandlungen zur Schweiz. Reformationsgesch. 2). xii, 176 pp. Leipzig, Heinsius, 1916. — *Bürckstümmer, Christian*, Geschichte der Reformation und Gegenreformation in der ehemaligen freien Reichsstadt Dinkelsbühl, 1524–1648 (Schriften des Ver. f. Reformationsgeschichte 115, 116). Two parts, 167, 103 pp. Leipzig, Haupt, 1914, 1915. — *Gess, Felician*, Akten und Briefe zur Kirchenpolitik des Herzogs Georg von Sachsen. Vol. II, 1525–1527. xx, 924 pp. Leipzig, Teubner, 1917. — *Götz, Johann Baptist*, Die religiöse Bewegung

¹³ Since 1920 Köhler has more than once treated of Zwingli in print. One publication I will mention here, because it may easily be overlooked and yet is of special note: Huldrych Zwingli's Bibliothek (84. Neujahrblatt zum Besten des Waisenhauses in Zürich. 34, 51 pp. Zürich, Beer, 1921). With meticulous industry a catalogue has been compiled of about 320 works which Zwingli can be proved to have known or used, and which thus for a shorter or longer time he must have had in his library. There is an excellent explanatory introduction.

in der Oberpfalz von 1520–1560 (Erläuterungen und Ergänzungen zu Janssens Geschichte des deutschen Volkes 10, 1. 2). xvi, 208 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1914. — *Kidrič, Fr.*, Die protestantische Kirchenordnung der Slovenen im XVI. Jahrhundert (Slavica, hrsg. von M. Murko, 1). 158 pp. Heidelberg, Winter, 1919. — *Loesche, Georg*, Zur Gegenreformation in Schlesien: Tropaup, Jägerndorf, Leobschütz (Schriften des Vereins f. Ref.-geschichte 117, 118, 123). Two parts, 253, 96 pp. Leipzig, Haupt, 1915, 1916. — *Ried, Karl*, Die Durchführung der Reformation in der ehemaligen freien Reichsstadt Weissenburg i. B. (Historische Forschungen und Quellen hrsg. von Joseph Schlecht 1). viii, 136 pp. Munich and Freising, Datterer, 1915. — *Sohm, Walter*, Territorium und Reformation in der hessischen Geschichte, 1526–1555 (Urkundliche Quellen zur hessischen Reformationsgeschichte). xxviii, 186 pp. Marburg, Elwert, 1915. — *Steck, R.*, and *Tobler, G.*, Aktenammlung zur Geschichte der Berner Reformation, 1521–1522. Hrsg. mit Unterstützung der bernischen Kirchensynode. Nos. 1–4. 320 pp. Bern, K. J. Wyss, 1918. — *Veit, Andreas Ludwig*, Kirche und Kirchenreform in der Erzdiözese Mainz im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung und der beginnenden tridentinischen Reformation (Erläuterungen [*supra*, Götz] 10, 3). xiv, 98 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1920. — *Waldenmaier, Hermann*, Die Entstehung der evangelischen Gottesdienstordnungen Süddeutschlands im Zeitalter der Reformation (Schriften des Vereins f. Ref.-geschichte 125–126). viii, 143 pp. Leipzig, Haupt, 1916.

Although the subjects of the works included in this section are for the most part of interest only to investigators of special topics in the history of the German and Swiss Reformation, yet as they sometimes contain matter of more than local interest, they seem to deserve comment here.

Arbusow brings vividly before us the difficulties into which the withdrawal of the Grand Master, Albert of Brandenburg, brought the Teutonic Order in Livonia. Even though the Teutonic Order and the Livonian territorial state had outlived their usefulness, since the foundations of their life, both secular and religious, were undermined, yet the retarding of their downfall through the unselfish efforts of the Master, Wolter von Plettenberg, was of benefit to the country, for it gave time for the foundations of the future evangelical territorial church to be laid and for German civilization to be developed and established, to remain until a distant future. — *Bergmann* gives the history of the Baptist movement in the canton of Zürich from unpublished city and cantonal records. The beginnings under Zwingli are treated briefly in view of the monograph by Egli (1878), but the later development is all the more fully given.

The writer endeavors to be fair to the Baptists, showing how the grave abuses in the established church could not fail to promote the formation of sects. The strict measures taken by the authorities against dissenters are told at length. The full bibliography is specially welcome, covering as it does many unfamiliar and not easily accessible works. — Continuing his publication begun in 1905, *Gess* gives us a feast of documents. Now for the first time can the history of the peasant revolt in Thuringia be properly understood; and the relation of Philip of Hesse to his father-in-law George of Saxony receives new light from important letters. — The religious fortunes of the so-called Upper Palatinate, which in consequence of frequent change of masters (*cujus regio ejus religio!*) ran the gamut from Catholicism to Calvinism more than once in less than a hundred years, is of special interest. One almost regrets that *Götz* had to condense the new material at his command into such narrow limits. — *Loesche* possesses almost unrivalled learning in the history of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation in the countries of the Austrian Empire. By means of documents discovered by him in the family archives of the princes of Liechtenstein in Vienna, he has brought out into the light of day the hitherto obscure history of the religious movement in the Silesian duchies. We live over again the little war against the heretics, so full of heart-rending sacrifice and steadfast endurance, which with all its violent measures failed to root out heresy. The freshness of the story, following the course of events for a time from day to day and even from hour to hour, gives it the fascination of a painting in miniature. — Weissenburg (the town of that name in Bavaria, not in Alsace) was one of the small imperial cities which have always attracted attention by their active participation in the reforming movement in its early stages (Protest of Speyer, Diet of Augsburg), and there is indeed a special interest in seeing how, within the narrow limits of so small a town, internal causes, with some incentive from outside, brought about the change from an inherited creed to a new form of religion. Of this *Ried* gives a lively picture, using carefully selected documents, some of which he prints in full. — The history of the Reforma-

tion in Hesse is naturally much more important, especially when treated as typical of the influence of the Reformation on the development of the territorium, that is on the formation of the idea of the state in Germany, after the close of the Middle Ages. This was thoroughly understood by *Sohm* (not the celebrated Leipzig jurist but his son, who died early in the War), and he formed his own independent opinions on the numerous questions which occur to anyone in studying the Hessian Reformation. — *Steck* and *Tobler's* collection of documents for the history of the Reformation at Bern assembles the whole body of material in chronological order. It will be a quarry for students of ecclesiastical and social history. — *Waldenmaier* compares the mediæval forms of divine service — mass, sermon, eucharist — with the evangelical orders of worship, and shows that the Reformation created nothing new, and why this was so. By using all the South German orders of worship he finds firm footing in what has been uncertain ground. — The chief promoter of the Reformation in Krain was Primus Truber. *Kidrič* investigates (1) the church-order (printed 1563–64) which he issued, a compilation from the Württemberg church order of 1559 and other sources, and (2) Truber's catechism of 1575 and the Agenda of Georg Dalmatin, printed at Wittenberg in 1585.

III. England

Lang, August, Bekenntnis und Katechismus in der englischen Kirche unter Heinrich VIII (Beiträge zur Foerderung christlicher Theologie 21.5). 107 pp. Gütersloh, Bertelsmann, 1917. — *Schelven, A. A. van*, Kerkerdaads-protocollen der Nederduitsche vluchtelingen-kerk te London, 1560–1563 (Werken uitgegeven door het Historisch Genootschap, gevestigd te Utrecht, 3d ser. no. 43). Amsterdam, Joh. Müller, 1920.

Lang's book on the English Reformation, the only one I have seen from the years under review, discusses the chief documents bearing on the religious and theological position of Henry VIII and his advisers, namely, the "Ten Articles" (1536); the "Institution of a Christian Man" (the "Bishops' Book," 1537); the "Bloody Statute" (1539); the "Necessary Doctrine"; the "Thirteen Articles" (1538). These last, which are chiefly important for having served in the reign of Edward VI

as the basis for the Forty-two Articles, are only briefly touched upon. The work is valuable, and not to German scholars alone. His many quotations from forms of confession are important because there is no complete edition of these documents even in Charles Lloyd's treatise on the "Formularies of Faith" of Henry VIII. — The Dutch congregation in London, comprising the fugitives, chiefly from the southern Netherlands, under Johannes à Lasco, Martinus Miesonius, and Jan Utenhove, received a charter from Edward VI in 1550, which granted them full liberty to organize their religious association and assigned them the church of the Austin Friars. In 1553 under Mary the Calvinists had to withdraw, but Queen Elizabeth in 1559 declared for the Reformation, and the second period of the Reformed Dutch church began. Much has already been published from the records of the church. *Van Schelven* now gives two volumes of the records of the Session (1560–1563; Aug. 19–Sept. 5, 1563), and in appendices the records of marriages, baptisms, and deaths in the years 1559, 1560, 1561, and 1563–1567, mostly from the hand of the pastor, Petrus Delenus. The editor has supplied abundant notes.

IV. Holland ¹⁴

Heering, G. J., De Remonstranten. Gedenkbboek bij het 300-jarig bestaan der Remonstrantsche Broederschap. Met medewerking van *H. Y. Groenewegen, A. H. Haentjens, C. E. Hooykaas, L. Knappers, W. J. Kühler, F. Pijper*. Leyden, 1919. — *Kaajan, H.*, De groote Synode van Dordrecht in 1618–1619. 234 pp. 720 notes. Amsterdam, De Standaard, 1918. — *Meindersma, W.*, De Synode van Dordrecht 1618–1619. Zalt-Bommel, P. M. Wink, 1918. — *Oorthuys, G.*, Anastasius' "Wechwyser," Bullinger's "Huysboek" en Calvijn's "Institutie" vergeleken in hun leer van God en mensch. Leyden, Brill, 1919. — *Pont, J. W.*, Het eigen karakter en beginsel van het Luthersch Protestantisme in Nederland. (Address.) Utrecht, 1915. — *Ruys, Th.*, Petrus Dathenus. (Amsterdam dissertation.) 335 pp. Utrecht, 1919. — *Duker, D. A. C.*, Gisbertus Voetius. Registers. viii, 187 pp. Leyden, Brill, 1915.

The three-hundredth anniversary of the great Synod of Dort (Nov. 13, 1618–May 29, 1619), at which the doctrinal development of the Reformed church was brought to its con-

¹⁴ Works relating to the local church history of Holland are mentioned in the bibliography of the Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkegeschiedenis.

clusion, was celebrated in Holland in 1919. This inevitably revived the old conflicts between Calvinism and Arminianism, which are still deeply rooted in the religious consciousness of the Dutch people, though their religious life no longer, as three hundred years ago, revolves wholly about them. *Kaajan* represents one point of view, *Heering* and his associates the other. In *Kaajan's* purely historical work Calvinism speaks. The author seems to have conjured up the spirit of Merle d'Aubigné, and with him believes that the Synod rendered the most perfect and glorious testimony to the work of grace of Jesus Christ that ever proceeded from human lips. To be sure, he does not approve the harsh measures against the Remonstrants, but he holds that it would have been an act of suicide on the part of the Synod if it had not taken measures against the arrogance of Episcopius. — On the other hand, the more popular essays by *Heering* and his fellow-workers, on the rise of the Society of Remonstrants, show how Arminius and his followers, with all reverence for Calvin's piety and learning, yet cherished a more tolerant spirit, and could not bind themselves to all the doctrines of that reformer. In particular, *Heering* treats the religious principles of the Remonstrants as opposed to those of the Calvinists; *Pijper*, spiritual tendencies in the Netherlands before the advent of Remonstrantism; *Knappers*, Episcopius and the Synod; *Haentjens*, Johannes Uytenbogaert and the founding of the Society of Remonstrants; *Kühler*, Remonstrants and Socinians; *Hooykaas*, the place of the Remonstrant in Dutch Protestantism. — *Oorthuys's* study may also be called a memorial of the jubilee of Dort. The "Guide for the Laity" of "Anastasius Veluanus" (Jan Gerrits Versteeghe, who died in 1570 in Holland as superintendent of Steeg on the Rhine) is the oldest manual of Protestant doctrine in the Dutch language; it betrays clearly the influence of Erasmus. It was a happy thought to compare this influential book with Bullinger's and Calvin's statements of doctrine; the differences in the doctrine of predestination are worked out in much detail. — Petrus Dathenus (†1590), a leading polemic theologian among the Dutch Calvinists, is especially known for his opposition to the compromise policy of William of Orange. *Ruys* gives a

detailed account of him and in the notes corrects many errors of long standing. — *Pont* explains the characteristic difference between Lutheranism and Calvinism in Holland as to doctrine, organization, and worship. — *Duker's* exhaustive biography of the famous Leyden theologian Voetius (3 vols., 1893–1914) has now been supplied with full indices (names and subjects; manuscripts; printed sources).

V. THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES

a. Denmark

Acta pontificum danica, utgivne af A. Krarup og J. Lindbaek. Vol. VI, Copenhagen, 1915. — *Andersen, J. Oskar*, Overfor Kirkebunddet. Københavns Universitets Festskrift. Copenhagen, 1917. — *De danske Biskoppers Gensvar til de lutherske Artikler af 1530*. Copenhagen, Det Schönbergske Forlag, 1917. — *Mindeskrift i Anledning af Reformation-jubilæet*. Særtryk af Teologisk Tidsskrift. Copenhagen, G. E. C. God's Forlag, 1917.

The jubilee of the Reformation, 1517, was celebrated in Denmark by several publications. The special volume of the *Teologisk Tidsskrift* is a collection of essays dealing in part with Luther (for instance, *H. Haar* on Luther and the Humanists of Erfurt, *P. Severinsen* on Luther's Hymns, *V. Ammundsen* on Religion and Ethics in Luther's Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans); in part with the Danish Reformation (so *J. Pedersen's* study of H. Tausen's translation of the Pentateuch). — *Andersen's* book, published by the University of Copenhagen, is a careful examination of the situation in Denmark about 1520. The author gives a sketch of the mediæval conception of church and state, warning against overrating the tendency towards national churches only loosely connected with Rome, and comparing with the mediæval idea that of Luther in his earlier writings (in 1520 only a theory, not carried into practice). The author's main object is to define the position of King Christian II. He wished a reformation, but on a mediæval basis, and he called to Copenhagen two men of the Wittenberg school (M. Reinhard 1520; Karlstadt 1521); but he did not at that time realize that the Lutheran movement would lead to a definite schism, and the influence exercised by Karlstadt in his short visit was of no importance, as is shown

by the laws issued by the king. On minor points one may differ from Andersen, but in his main thesis he seems to be right, and in the following years the connection of the Danish church with Rome became very loose. In 1526, ten years before the Danish Reformation, the correspondence practically stopped, as we see from the *Acta pontificum danica*, Vol. VI. In 1530, at the Diet of Copenhagen, counterpart of the Diet of Augsburg, a keen literary discussion took place. The prelates presented a *Confutatio latina* written by German theologians, and part of this volume was translated into Danish and revised by Paul Helgesen, the only important Danish opponent of Luther but himself a reformer on a mediæval basis. This work the prelates also accepted; it was printed in 1533, during a period of temporary reaction, and now the small body of Danish Roman Catholics have taken the occasion of the jubilee of 1917 to republish the document in modern Danish.

b. Norway

Den norske Kirkes Mindeskraft ned Reformationens, 400ts Aars Jubilæum Aar 1917. Utkast til en norsk Kirkeordinants efter Kong Kristian IVs Befaling forfattet av Norges Superintendenten og nu efter Tiltak av Reformations-Jubelaerets Biskopper paa offentlig Bekostning for første Gang utgivet ved *Oluf Kolsrud*. Med et Sendebrev fra den norske Kirkes Biskopper om den lutherske Reformations Vasen og Betydning. viii, 211 pp. Christiania, 1917. — To og Tredive Pradikener holdt i Aarene 1578–1586 av Mag. Jens Nilssøn, fjerde evangeliske Superintendent over Oslo og Hamar Stifter. Med en Indledning om Jens Nilssøns Liv og Virksomhet. Ved *Andreas Brandrud* og *Oluf Kolsrud*. Utgit av det kongelig Frederiks Universitet i Kristiania som Universitetsprogram for 2det Semester 1917 til den Lutherske Reformations 400-Aars Jubilæum. viii, 151; ix, 514 pp. 8 pls. Christiania, Aschehoug, 1917.

The Lutheran Church of Norway issued a handsome memorial volume edited by *Kolsrud*, in honor of the 400th anniversary of the Reformation. It contains the first draft of the Norwegian church-order of 1607, discovered by the editor in the Royal Library at Copenhagen. At the introduction of the Reformation into Norway in 1536 the Norwegian church had to use the Danish church-order, but this was not at all suited to the peculiar circumstances of Norway, and in 1604 the Norwegian superintendents were charged with the preparation of a new order. This draft of 1604, as now appears, was an excel-

lent piece of work, much better adapted to the special conditions of the Norwegian land and people than the form finally reached, which was a modification for the worse elaborated by the Danish superintendents and higher civil officials. To his very careful edition of this document Kolsrud has added an extract from the "Christian Law" of the old "Borgerthing code," which was drawn up at the time the Reformation was introduced into the diocese of Oslo. He also gives in tabular form a summary of the sources of the draft of 1604 and of the relation of this draft to the final form of 1607; a study of the sources of the extract mentioned above as well as of those of the Order of 1607; and finally an essay on "Christian Law and Church-order." — The spread of the Reformation among the common people of Norway owed much to Jens Nilssøn, superintendent (bishop) of Oslo and Hamar, a man of liberal culture and many-sided interests. His sermons, characterized by a fervid piety, are the exhortations and instructions of a true Lutheran. Thirty-two of these sermons are now published by *Brandrud* and *Kolsrud* with a full introduction on the life and work of Nilssøn by the former — altogether a valuable contribution to the history of the Reformation in Norway.

c. Sweden

Block, Herder, Karl IX som teolog och religiös personlighet. (Dissertation.) xxii, 349 pp. Lund, Gleerupska Universitets Bokhandel, 1918. — *Carlsson, Gottfrid*, Stockholms blodbad. Några synpunkter och reflexioner (Svensk Historisk Tidskrift, 1920, 123–144). Stockholm, Fritze. — *Eklund, J. A.*, Andelifvet i Sveriges kyrka. III. Under den inre kyrkokampens tid. 80 pp.; IV. Under yttre kyrkokampens tid. 244 pp. Christiania, Kristliga Studentrörelsen förlag, 1915, 1917. — *Hall, B. R.*, Den kyrkliga folkuppöstran i Rudbeckii stift (Kyrkohist. Årsskrift, 20, 1919, 64–236); Johannes Rudbeckii katekesutveckling och dess samband med tidigare andakts- och läroböcker (*ibid.* 20, 1919, 1–62). — *Holm, R.*, Olavus Petri. 159 pp. Upsala, Lindblad, 1917. — *Holmdahl, Otto S.*, Karl IXs förmenta Calvinism. (Kyrkohist. Årsskrift, 20, 1919, 237–314). — *Holmquist, Hjalmar*, Reformationens historia (*supra*, p. 2). — *Linderholm, E.* De stora häx-processerna i Sverige. Part I: Inledning, Bohuslän. xi, 272 pp. Upsala, Lindblad, 1918; Gustaf Vasa och reformationen i Sverige. 62 pp. *ibid.* 1917. — *Lundström, Ernst*, Bidrag till Livlands kyrkohistoria under den svenska tidens första skede från Rigas intagande till freden i Oliva 1660. Med 30 bilagor. xx, 301 pp. Upsala and Stockholm, Almqvist & Wicksell, 1914. — *Petri, Olavus*, Samlade skrifter. Red. af *B. Hesselman*, förord af *H. Hjärne*, och litteratur-historiska inledningar af *K. B. Westman*. 4 vols.

xxi, 558 pp.; xix, 569 pp.; xv, 586 pp.; xix, ix, 566 pp. 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917. — *Rodhe, Edvard*, Studier i den svenska reformationstidens liturgiska tradition (Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1917, Teologie 1). iv, 166 pp. — *Scheffer, H.*, Johannes Rudbeckius. viii, 168 pp. Stockholm, Norstedt, 1914. — *Schück, H.*, Messenius. Några blad ur Vasatidens kulturhistoria. 320 pp. *ibid.*, 1920. — *Tunberg, S.*, Västerås riksdag 1527. Några kritisk anmärkningar. 67 pp. Upsala, 1913. — *Westman, K. B.*, Reformationens genombrottsår i Sverige. xv, 462 pp. Stockholm, Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelse, 1918; Kulturreformproblemet i den svenska reformationen (Svenska historisk Tidskrift, 1917, 1-14).

In the great compilation of Swedish history now in process of publication, edited by several Swedish historians, the period of the Reformation is treated from novel points of view by the late national archivist *Hildebrand*. — In *Holmquist's* Handbook of the History of the Reformation, the chapter on the Swedish Reformation, showing how it developed independently of the German, deserves special attention. — The best account of the rise of the Swedish Reformation (1521-1527) yet published is the book by *Westman*, who both uses hitherto neglected sources of information and sets familiar sources in a new light. His full discussion of the late Middle Ages, without which the Swedish Reformation, like that of other countries, cannot be understood, is also valuable. He pays special attention to the relation to the Baltic states. — *Rodhe* examines the attitude taken by the Reformation in Sweden toward the *officium divinum* of the Middle Ages, and finds that the mediæval liturgical tradition lasted longer there than in other countries. Instead of recasting the form of worship, as was done in Germany (*supra*, Waldenmaier, p. 30) and Denmark, the method chosen in Sweden was to reduce the mediæval services. In his investigations the author has made novel use of musical manuscripts, especially the *liber aspoensis*. — By means of a critical examination of the sources, *Tunberg* has reached important conclusions with regard to the Reformation Diet of Västerås in 1527, in relation both to the course of the sessions, confirming the account of Peter Swarts, and to the measures passed. — *Eklund's* two books, parts of a general history of religious life in the Swedish church, give a scholarly survey of the struggles of the Reformation church, both internal, against the counter-reformation movements, and external, under the

lead of Gustavus Adolphus and Oxenstiern. — *Carlsson's* study of the "Stockholm bath of blood" of 1520, based on the sources, is to the effect that the executions are to be regarded as a deadly blow aimed by Christian II against his enemies of the Sture party. — *Block* has discovered new material in both Swedish and foreign archives for the religious development toward Calvinism of Charles IX (1592–1611), the father of Gustavus Adolphus. — *Holmdahl*, on the contrary, sees in Charles the last representative of the generation of Swedish reformers which was still unwilling to put the authority of the confessions in place of the Bible and remained unaffected by the theological divisions of Lutheranism. — The real pioneer of reformatory ideas in Sweden, and likewise the founder of a Swedish national literature, was Olavus Petri, preacher in Strängerås and later in Stockholm, and for a time chancellor of Gustavus Vasa. His collected writings are here published for the first time. The lately deceased Professor *Hjärne* wrote an introduction, giving an excellent characterization of Petri and of his significance for the Swedish church. Professor *Westman* has prefaced the separate writings with brief introductions. *Holm* gives an account of Petri's life, of popular character but made from the original sources — The most important Swedish churchman of the 17th century was Johannes Rudbeck, professor at Upsala and later (1619–1646) bishop of Västerås. Of the two writers who take him as their subject, *Hall* had already written a dissertation on Rudbeck in 1911; *Scheffer's* work is popular but accurate. — *Linderholm* plans a large work on witchcraft in Sweden, but publishes first an introduction on the history of religious and social conditions and a full account of the witchcraft trials in the district of Bohuslän, with abundant original documents. — *Lundström's* history of the church in Livonia during the first half of the Swedish period (1621–1650) is based on wide researches among unprinted documents. The first superintendent, Hermann Samson, and his work are fully described. — *Schück* gives a life-like and interesting picture of Messenius, the first scholarly historian of Sweden.

VI. THE ROMAN CATHOLIC REACTION

a. General

Sheuber, Joseph, unter Mitwirkung von L. von Pastor, W. Schnyder, L. Schneller, u. a., Kirche und Reformation: Aufblühendes katholisches Leben im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert. viii, 835 pp. Einsiedeln, Benziger, 1917.

On this collection of essays see Benrath's detailed review in *Theol. Lit. Ztg.*, 1919, cols. 226-228. It is valuable work by Swiss Catholics, together with the German von Pastor. The latter contributes as the introductory paper an instructive sketch of "The Papacy and the Restoration of the Church in the 16th Century." This is followed by sixteen essays relating to every side of the progress of Catholic church life. The writers have taken pains to give their discussions an irenic tone; as is said by the Bishop of Chur (from whom comes the imprimatur of the volume), their purpose is to show the ever youthful vigor of the Catholic faith, without giving offense to the brethren who have separated themselves from it.

b. The Council of Trent

Concilium Tridentinum. Diariorum, actuum, epistularum, tractatum nova collectio. Edidit Societas Goerresiana promovendis inter Germanos Catholicos literarum studiis. Tomus VIII: Concilii Tridentini actuum pars quinta, complectens acta ad praeparandum concilium et sessiones anni 1562 a prima [XVII] ad sextam [XXII]. Collegit, edidit, illustravit *Stephanus Ehes.* xiv, 1024 pp.; Tomus X: Concilii Tridentini epistularum pars prima complectens epistulas a die v martii 1545 ad concilii translationem xi martii 1547 scriptas. Coll. ed. ill. *Godefredus Buschbell.* lxxvi, 996 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1919, 1916. — *Susta, Josef*, Die römische Kurie und das Konzil von Trient unter Pius IV. Vol. IV. xx, 617 pp. Vienna, Hölder, 1914. — *Swoboda, Heinrich*, Trient und die kirchliche Renaissance. Schauplatz, Verlauf und Ertrag des Konzils von Trient. 132 pp., 85 illustrations in text, 8 plates. Vienna, Holzhausen, 1915. — *Weimann, Karl*, Das Konzil von Trient und die Kirchenmusik. ix, 155 pp. Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1919. — *Wolf, Gustav*, Die Literatur über das Konzil von Trient bis 1800 (*Deutsche Geschichtsblätter* 18, 1917, 227-261; 19, 1918, 145-182).

The history of the literature on the Council of Trent is a history of human passions. Since the days of Sarpi and Pallavicini, in whose mighty works the divergent views found classic expression, the conflict of opinions has never ceased to rage. Of this a good idea may be gained by looking through the articles by *Wolf*, the author of the "Quellenkunde der

deutschen Reformation" (*supra*, pp. 2, 3). Down to the very threshold of the most recent time we find ourselves among prejudices, papalist, episcopalist, Protestant, and only the opening of the papal archives will introduce a change. A history of the council, which was fundamental for the whole modern development of Catholicism, cannot be written until the full documentary material is at command.¹⁵ This, however, is the aim of the Görres-Gesellschaft, and the critical edition of the Acts of the council, which has been appearing since 1901, is an honor to that society. Even during the War the work did not stop, and two important volumes were issued, under what difficulties one may gather from the prefatory remarks to the fifth volume by *Ehses*. He had been director of the Historical Institute of the Society in Rome until the outbreak of war, and fortunately the fruits of his labors were not lost when, evidently to his deep sorrow, he had to leave Rome. The present publication is not, to be sure, the immediate continuation of what had preceded it. The first two volumes of the *Acta* (Vols. V and VI of the whole undertaking), also by *Ehses*, appeared in 1901 and 1911, and came to the close of the first period of the council, when it was transferred to Bologna (March 11, 1547). The intervening volumes, which are to contain the second period and the preparation for it, are deferred for the present, as the studies for them are not completed.¹⁶ Accordingly Volume V comprises the proceedings from the adoption of the electoral capitulation, September 8, 1559, at the conclave which chose Pius IV to be pope, to the sixth (22nd) session of the council as re-convened by Pius on September 17, 1562. In the first part are included the preliminary negotiations, the steps taken by the pope to have the council held, and his negotiations with the various princes and cities, in which the nuncio Commendone was prominent. The second part contains the records of the sessions, for which Massarelli, the industrious secretary of the council, is chiefly

¹⁵ For this reason Hefele's *Konziliengeschichte*, which Cardinal Hergenröther undertook to carry on, stopped with the ninth volume (1890), coming down only to the time of Paul III (1536).

¹⁶ The publishers have since announced that the last volume of the *Acta* has been printed and will be issued shortly.

responsible. Weighty matters came before these sittings: the Index of prohibited books, the obligation of residence for bishops, the mass, the communion of children, and the granting of the cup to the laity. — *Buschbell*, editor of the volume of Letters, had to decide whether to include the material already published by Druffel and Brandi in their *Monumenta tridentina*, or only to supplement it. He wisely chose the former course. Such a monumental publication ought to be complete; and Buschbell was also able in countless instances to publish a better text. Moreover, the *Monumenta* came down only to June, 1546, and even within this period Buschbell has added 110 numbers, and in 118 others has given the more complete text of what had previously appeared in abridged or partial form. These letters are the official and semi-official correspondence; the private correspondence, which covers more than 100 pages of an appendix, is not less important. Only the Italian archives have been used, and scholars will regret that the editor has not printed also the imperial acts from the Spanish state papers at Simancas. These may, however, be expected in the second volume of Letters. Important additions and critical notes are to be found in the review of our volume by Professor Merkle of Würzburg (*Theol. Revue*, 20, 1921, cols. 169–178) who, as the editor of the volume of Diaries, is the most competent possible critic. He ventures the assertion, and with justice, that all recent discussions of the questions dealt with at the council, so far as they have been unable to use the correspondence of the council, have been premature. — A substantial contribution to our knowledge of this correspondence is contained in *Sus-ta's* book, the earlier volumes of which appeared in 1904–1911. The present final volume covers the last seven months of the session of the council, from May 19 to December 4, 1563. This is the period in which the Curia was pressing for a speedy conclusion of the proceedings and found in Cardinal Morone a determined and successful representative of their aims. His reports to Pius IV and Cardinal Carlo Borromeo, which unfortunately are preserved only in abstracts and copies, and the answers of Borromeo, form the kernel of the volume. Appendices contain the correspondence of the Curia with Santa

Croce, nuncio at the French court, and with Crivello, nuncio at the Spanish court. — *Swoboda's* book was intended as a memorial of the Leo-Gesellschaft in Vienna for the Eucharistic Congress held there in 1911; that this is the third edition shows with what interest it has been read. It is popular but not uncritical, and the abundant illustrations add to its instructiveness. — Since the new *codex juris canonici* takes over its regulations for church music almost word for word from the decrees of the Council of Trent, a more exact knowledge of the attitude of the council in this important matter is of interest. This can be gained from *Weimann's* careful study, based on the original Acta of the council. He not only sets forth the proceedings of the council relating to church music and describes the conditions with respect to church music before and at the time of the council, but gives an examination of church-musical compositions (*cantus gregoriani*) both as to texts and to execution. Especially satisfactory is the way in which he demolishes a widely current legend that has entered the realm of fiction and been glorified by musicians (for instance by the well-known Hans Pfitzner). According to this tale the ecclesiastical authority in the middle of the sixteenth century wished to banish figured music from the church, and it was only rescued by Palestrina and his celebrated Missa Marcelli, which was first performed during the council. In reality this mass has nothing to do with the Council of Trent; it is not the fact that Palestrina desired to be an innovator in church music. It is true that Marcellus, in his brief pontificate in 1555, did interest himself in a reform of church music, and that the Missa Marcelli may be associated with that fact. The mass was thus written nearly ten years before the date of its supposed first performance.

c. *The Papacy*

Pastor, Ludwig, Freiherr von, Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters. Vols. VII, VIII, IX: Geschichte der Päpste im Zeitalter der katholischen Reformation und Restauration. Pius IV, Pius V, Gregor XIII. xl, 706 pp.; xxxvi, 676 pp.; xlv, 933 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1920-1923.

Ludwig Pastor's prodigious capacity for work (referred to in connection with his revision of Janssen's History of the German People, *supra*, p. 4) is again attested in the recent

volumes of his *History of the Popes*. The sixth volume of this great work, covering the pontificates of Julius III, Marcellus II, and Paul IV (1550-1559), appeared in 1913, and after an interval of seven years two more were published in 1920, Volumes VII and VIII, on Pius IV and Pius V (1559-1572). Now we have Vol. IX, Gregory XIII (1572-1585), and the author hopes to issue the remaining volumes in quick succession, as the material is all in readiness and the composition well under way.¹⁷ The series will end with the pontificate of Gregory XV (1621-1623), the last of the restoration popes. For the second half of the 16th century, even more than in the earlier volumes, the author has had to rely on unpublished documents. The field, as he remarks, had to be ploughed before it could be planted. With great success he has endeavored to acquire the treasures of every accessible archive and then to sift and digest them. He has been permitted to use the archives and libraries of Rome and even the secret archives of the popes, as well as the archives of the Gonzagas in Mantua and of the cities of Florence and Modena, to mention only those which proved most productive; and he has made complete use of the very widely scattered printed literature. Great masses of material had to be examined, especially since the lack of preliminary studies by others made it necessary to go into much detail in the presentation of the subject. But instead of this being, as might have been expected, a work in which the history is lost in the material, there are few books in which the abundance of facts is so little oppressive. His rare power of style and singular gift for telling a story (and capacity for not interrupting it to make his own observations) make this a book which meets in the fullest measure the requirement of Leopold Ranke's often quoted saying, that the task of an historian is merely to tell how things happened. The enormous increase of available sources necessarily gave Pastor an advantage over his illustrious predecessor, but beyond that, Ranke in his incomparable "*Römische Päpste*" did not attempt to give a detailed account, but only to present the essence of his studies. Hence for thor-

¹⁷ Meanwhile Pastor has found time to prepare a revised and enlarged edition of Vols. I and II, which was to be published in 1923.

ough study of the period every one must go to Pastor, and his guidance can be trusted with the more confidence because his narrative shows none of the apologetic quality that as a Catholic he might be expected to exhibit. Neither in characterizing persons nor in describing conditions is he afraid of the truth, even when that is by no means edifying. Considerable portions of the volumes on Pius IV and Pius V, as in the case of the volumes immediately preceding, must for the present supply the place of the missing portions of the history of the Council of Trent, a history which indeed largely coincides with that of the curia; and it does not need to be remarked that Pastor has fully used the material to be found in the above mentioned volumes of that history. Finally, one trait of Pastor's method is to be specially commended, namely his constant attention to the relation of the popes to learning and art, and particularly to their Maecenas-like services to the city of Rome. The concluding chapters of the seventh volume (Pius IV) and of the ninth (Gregory XIII) are devoted to these activities.¹⁸ Each of the three volumes has a bibliography of the works consulted. Appendices contain a mass of unpublished documents and material from archives.

d. *The Roman See and the Empire*

Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland, nebst ergänzenden Aktenstücken. Section II. 1560–1572. Vol. IV. Nuntius Delfino 1564–1565. Im Auftrag der historischen Kommission der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften bearbeitet von S. Steinherz. cxxv, 553 pp. Vienna, Hölder, 1914. — *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland*, 1589–1592. Section II. Die Nuntiatur am Kaiserhof. Vol. III. Die Nuntien in Prag: Alfonso Visconti 1589–1591; Camillo Caetano 1591–1592. Hrsg. von Josef Schweizer (Quellen und Forschungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte, hrsg. von der Görres-Gesellschaft, 18). cxxxiii, 673 pp. Paderborn, Schöningh, 1919. — Steffens, Franz and Reinhardt, Heinrich, Die Nuntiatur von Giovanni Francesco Bonhomini (1579–1581). Dokumente. 2. Band. Die Nuntiaturberichte Bonhomini's und seine Korrespondenz mit Persönlichkeiten der Schweiz aus dem Jahre 1580. (Nuntiaturberichte aus der Schweiz seit dem Konzil von Trient 1.) xxxi, 656 pp. Solothurn, 1917. — Bibl, Viktor, Zur Frage der religiösen Haltung Kaiser Maximilians II. 137 pp. Vienna, Hölder, 1917.

¹⁸ The publishers have issued the corresponding chapter of Vol. VI in a special illustrated edition with the title, Die Stadt Rom zu Ende der Renaissance, xx, 136 pp., 102 figs., 1 plan, 1916.

The papal legates' reports from Germany have appeared in two separate publications, one by the Vienna Academy of Sciences and the other by the Görres-Gesellschaft, both containing a great store of original material. The documents from the Vatican archives and from the state archives of Florence and Vienna, edited by *Steinherz*, are for the most part new. The introduction is a significant monograph on the relation of the nuncio Delfino to Emperor Maximilian II. The centre of interest lies in the negotiations relating to the granting of the cup to the laity, which Maximilian's father Ferdinand I had made a condition of recognizing the Council of Trent. In Maximilian's case, the validity of the marriage of priests was the question of chief interest. In these affairs the legate plays a singular rôle. Since he greatly desired to be in favor with the emperor, on whose support he reckoned for attaining a cardinal's hat, he went farther in yielding to the emperor's wishes than was consistent with his character as representative of the curia. Hence he offended his colleagues, who were implacable foes of priestly marriage, and was finally superseded by another as legate, but received from the emperor instead the administration of the Hungarian bishopric of Raab.—The emperor's own attitude toward the religious question and his ecclesiastical policy have received new elucidation from *Bibl's* use of material discovered by him in the Spanish archives at Simancas. The sovereign wished to stand above parties, to be neither a Lutheran nor a Papist but only a Christian; hence free activity in religion was to be granted to every one so long as he did not come into conflict with the religious truce (1555) or the common weal. In ecclesiastical policy he aimed at a German national church, and so took a position like that of Joseph II in the 18th century.—The documents published by *Schweizer* take us to a time when such a pacific policy had become impossible because of the threatening stage which the more accentuated antagonisms of Catholics and Protestants had reached at the end of the 16th century. *Schweizer* gives a complete account of the conflicts at the imperial court over the secular and the religious truce, and especially of the disagreements caused by the so-called *reservatio ecclesiastica*. — The first part of the work

of *Steffens* and *Reinhardt*, published in 1906, is now followed by a volume equally monumental in plan and detailed execution, but with somewhat briefer notes. The documents were for the most part unpublished, and are of the greatest importance for the history of the Counter-Reformation in Switzerland. The edition deserves unqualified praise.

e. Religious Orders

JESUITS. *Böhmer, Heinrich*, Studien zur Geschichte der Gesellschaft Jesu. Vol. I. vi, 447 pp. Bonn, Falkenroth, 1914. — *Brand, Friedrich J.*, Die Katechismen des Edmundus Augerius, S. J., in historischer, dogmatisch-moralischer und katechetischer Bearbeitung (Freiburger Theologische Studien 20). xvi, 186 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1917. — *Braunsberger, Otto*, Petrus Canisius. xi, 383 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1917. — *Kratz, Wilhelm*, Aus alten Zeiten. Die marianischen Kongregationen in den Ländern deutscher Zunge. Ihr Werden und Wirken von 1575–1650 (Sodalenbücher 3). xvi, 288 pp. Innsbruck, Tyrolia, n. d. [1918]. — *Sjöblom, S.*, Ignatius Loyola. Lund, Gleerup, 1915. — *Stoeckius, Hermann*, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Noviziates in der Gesellschaft Jesu. ix, 238 pp. Bonn, Falkenroth, 1918; Ottaviano Cesare (Sitzungsberichte, Heidelberg Academy, 1914). 79 pp. Heidelberg, Winter, 1914. — *Franzisko Suarez, S. J.*, Gedenkblätter zu seinem 300-jährigen Todestag (25. IX, 1917). Beiträge zur Philosophie des P. Suarez von *K. Six, M. Grabmann, F. Hatheyer, A. Inauen, J. Biedlerlack*, x, 169 pp. Innsbruck, Tyrolia, 1917.

CAMILLIANS. Der hl. Kamillus von Lellis und sein Orden. Zur 3. Jahrhundertfeier des Todestages des Heiligen hrsg. von der deutschen Kamillianerpatres. xii, 346 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1914.

JESUITS. Several important contributions to the history of the rise and organization of the order have appeared, which deserve all the greater attention because they are the work of unprejudiced Protestants. It seems a strong statement to say that there has been no critical life of Loyola, and that *Böhmer* is the first to lay the foundations for such a work. But it is admitted from the Jesuit side (P. Reichmann in "Stimmen aus Maria-Laach," 87, 1914, pp. 512–518) that he not only has great knowledge, but capacity for unpartisan judgment. He has drawn from the sources everywhere, especially the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu*, and done full justice to the great founder of the order. His first task was to give an adequate account and critical discussion of the formative period of Loyola's life. His mature life, which lies in the full light of history, needed less detailed treatment. Such studies of the

development of an important historical personality always possess a charm, and Böhmer's most attractive and readable book deserves a circle of readers much wider than the group of special students. To the narrative he has added long excursus on the sources, and on the books which chiefly influenced Loyola's spiritual development: *Amadis*, *Flos sanctorum*, the *Vita Christi*, Ludolf of Saxony, the *Imitatio* of Thomas à Kempis;¹⁹ and has also reprinted certain texts especially important for his biography, such as the description of the pilgrimage from Venice to Palestine made by Peter Füssli of Zürich on the same ship with Loyola, and the records of the trial before the Inquisition at Alcalá. The title page indicates the direction proposed for Böhmer's future studies (Crypto-jesuits, Jesuit morals, the doctrines of the state and of tyrannicide, the Chinese and Malabar rites, the Jesuit state in Paraguay), but none of these has as yet appeared. — *Stoeckius* adds much to our knowledge of the Society. The years he has devoted to this study have enabled him to produce the most complete picture possible of the life of the Jesuits, based on the important original sources recently published. For the history of the novitiate he has been able to use a very important source in the 17th century manuscript (earlier than 1628) of the Bibliothèque Mazarine at Paris (No. 1793) entitled "Instructions pour le noviciat des Jésuites," which he has printed in full in the second part of his book. His narrative follows the course of the Instructions, which were probably drawn up in the Jesuit college at Paris. But, apart from this, he everywhere cites in the notes the extant authorities from the 16th century, so that without confusion the reader is able to get a richly colored picture of the daily life of the novices of that period. In view of the decisive importance for the Jesuit order of the erection of the novitiate, the intimate knowledge of this institution here

¹⁹ Böhmer has published in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Sächsische Akademie der Wissenschaften (73, 1. Leipzig, Teubner, 1921), a study on 'Loyola und die deutsche Mystik,' which is noteworthy, as this connection has never before been examined. It appears here that although Loyola proceeded from the school of mysticism and was governed in his later life by the admonitions of his early spiritual guides, yet as an historical character he stands nearer to men like John Wesley and William Booth than to Ludolf of Saxony and Thomas à Kempis.

given is of great interest to the historian. — *Stoeckius's* second work mentioned above gives an instructive glimpse of the difficulties which arose between the parental home and the order. Now and again a youth scarcely yet beyond the age of parental care would evince an intense desire to enter the Society, and ceaseless conflicts of authority were unavoidable. The case of Ottaviano Cesare, a boy of fifteen, who in 1553 entered the order against the wishes of his parents, is of particular interest because in this instance Loyola endeavored to carry through his principles to their last consequences. He died in the meantime, and his successor Laynez carried on the contest, the result of which, unfortunately, is not known.

Among the Jesuits of the second generation who chose Germany as the field of their labors, Petrus Canisius (†1597), whom Leo XIII celebrated, in contrast to Melancthon, as *Praeceptor Germaniae*, is by far the most important figure. His catechisms spread over the whole Catholic world. A thoroughly satisfactory biography of him cannot be written so long as the sources, especially his own letters, are not available in full, but *Braunsberger*, who has been working on an edition of the letters for a quarter of a century,²⁰ has, with unrivalled competence, produced a work to which little new is likely to be added in the future. The tone is sympathetic but not too laudatory, the narrative is trustworthy, and enlivened by numerous details from the sources, not to be found in previous biographies. — The Canisius of the French was Edmond Auger (†1591), to whom is ascribed the credit of bringing back forty thousand Huguenots to the Catholic fold by his missions in Auvergne and Lyons. His catechisms, too, are known beyond the limits of France, and constitute the subject of *Brand's* thorough study, the historical part of which includes a survey of earlier Catholic and Protestant catechisms in Germany and France. Of peculiar value is the summary of the contents of Auger's two catechisms, given so fully (in the original French) as to be nearly the equivalent of a complete reprint. Brand has used

²⁰ The first volume of this edition of the letters appeared in 1896 (Herder) and the seventh in 1921, while the eighth was expected in 1923. Of the biography, the second edition was published in 1921.

a Paris copy of 1573; the small catechism was in existence before 1568, although no copy of the first edition is known. The large catechism was published by 1563. — To anyone who wishes to gain an insight into the inner life of the Marian congregations, that foundation (1543) of the Society of Jesus which by special adoration of the Virgin aimed at Christian perfection and church feeling, *Kratz's* book, based on thorough knowledge of the authorities, will be useful. An historical sketch is followed by a full account of organization and administration, of ways and means of personal sanctification (reception of the sacrament, assemblies, instrumentalities for stimulating the spirit of the Congregations) and of the external activities of the Congregations (lay apostolate and charity).

CAMILLIANS. The Camillians are a congregation of priests and lay brothers, still active in Germany and the Latin countries, including South America, who distinguished themselves in Epidauria and on the battlefields by self-sacrificing care for the sick and dying. Their founder, St. Camillus of Lellis, whom Pope Leo XIII elevated to be special patron of hospitals and of the sick, died July 14, 1614, and the German Camillians have honored his memory by publishing a biography, with a full history of the order to the present day, about which little had previously been published.

f. Territories

Brander, Vitus, Julius Echter von Mespelbrunn. vi, 160 pp. Würzburg, Bauch, 1917. — *Henner, Theodor*, Julius Echter von Mespelbrunn, Fürstbischof von Würzburg. 96 pp. Munich, Drucker & Humblot, 1918. — *Hessdörfer, Clemens Valentin*, Julius Echter von Mespelbrunn, Fürstbischof von Würzburg und Herzog von Franken. (Festschrift.) xv, 272 pp. Würzburg, Fränkische Gesellschaftsdruckerei, 1917. — *Hotzelt, Wilhelm*, Veit II von Würzburg, Fürstbischof von Bamberg 1561–1577. xi, 238 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1919. — *Kratz, Wilhelm*, Landgraf Wilhelm Ernst von Hessen-Rheinfels und die deutschen Jesuiten (Ergänzungsheft zu den "Stimmen aus Maria-Laach" 117). vi, 99 pp. *ibid.*, 1914. — *Lencz, Géza*, Der Aufstand Boeskaýs und der Wiener Friede. 296 pp. Debreczen, Hegedus und Sándor, 1917. — *Loesche, Georg*, Zur Gegenreformation in Schlesien. Two parts (Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte 117–118, 123). 253, 96 pp. Leipzig, Haupt, 1915, 1916. — *Rotenkoller, J.*, Der Kemptener Fürstabt Heinrich von Ulm, 1607–1616. (Würzburg dissertation.) 133 pp. Kempten, Kösel, 1919. — *Scheiwiler, Aloys*, P. Ludwig von Sachsen (ZSchwKG 10, 1916, 241–274); Elisabetha Spitzlin (*ibid.* 11, 1917, 204–220,

279-287); Fürstabt Joachim von St. Gallen (*ibid.* 12, 1918, 43-57, 126-156). — *Scheuber, Joseph*, Kirche und Reformation. 835 pp. Einsiedeln, Benziger, 1917.

The books here listed, although all of merit, in most cases treat subjects of but limited interest. The name of Julius Echter of Mespelbrunn (1573-1617), the great bishop of Würzburg, is, however, known in history, and at the present day traces of his activity may be met with on every side in the beautiful capital of Lower Franconia. The fact that he suppressed Protestantism with a heavy hand need not blind us to his great services in the general uplifting of his diocese. The commemoration of his death in 1917 called out a number of monographs, among which those of *Brander* and *Henner*, and the memorial volume issued by *Hessendörfer* in collaboration with other scholars, are the most notable. — *Scheiwiler's* contributions to the history of the Counter-Reformation are also valuable. — A glimpse of an important period of Hungarian church-history is afforded by *Lencz's* admirable book. When the Emperor Rudolf II, aided by the Jesuits, began (about 1600) to oppress Hungarian Protestantism, Stephen Bocskay, prince of Siebenbürgen, took up the cause of the threatened faith with skilful diplomacy and vigorous action. Mainly to his efforts was due the Vienna compact of 1606, which gave a new start to Hungarian and Austrian Protestantism. *Lencz* has followed the events in complete detail, and by the use of much unpublished material has been able to establish new results on many important points. A valuable addition are the numerous portraits and other illustrations from contemporary sources.

THE WORLD ENIGMA¹

CARY C. MOODY

INDIANOLA, MISSISSIPPI

THE ENIGMA of the world is the existence of evil or imperfection. Though a deeper insight discloses relative perfection, yet the relative perfection of finite things discloses imperfection. If good of the kind, yet the kind is bad. There is no compliment more distasteful than to be told that one is good of his kind, for it implies that the kind may be bad.

While it is obvious that the world, as a whole, is under the sway of one principle, yet the problem is how can a perfect being originate and sustain a world of imperfect beings, endowed with the capacity to develop towards perfection, and likewise with the capacity to resist such development?

To the first reflection of man the solution was suggested that all this imperfection, all this evil, is an illusion; it does not really exist — that it only seems to exist. But it was overlooked that an illusion cannot exist for what is itself an illusion. To be an illusion it must exist for a real being. If there is not a real being for whom the illusion can exist, then it is evident that there is no illusion. Thus, if there are real beings, it follows that evil and imperfection exist, not as an illusion but as a fact, for it is admitted that there is immaturity on the part of conscious beings who are contemplating the world. But it is suggested that while evil seems to *us* to really exist, yet it is because we, though real, are immature and thus see the world in parts only. It is

¹ In the following the writer is largely indebted to "Hegel's Logic," by Dr. William T. Harris, sometime United States Commissioner of Education, and also to "The Fundamental Ideas of Christianity," by Principal Caird. In this article I have endeavored to state the thought expressed in those works, adopting their phraseology where possible. However, in that connection I quote from the former: "But each thinker may claim originality, not only for his statement of it but also for the insight itself. For it cannot be borrowed from another, it is itself an original insight, because it is and must be a seeing at first hand of the necessity of all existence of whatever character to be grounded in self-determining being."

intimated that by growth or development our vision of the whole will remove both the real and the seeming imperfection.

This of course is but a further specification of the former solution, rather than a new one, because it is conceded that immaturity on our part does exist.

It is, again, still insisted that evil is an illusion, but one inherent only in self-conscious beings like man. This self-knowledge, it is stated, being a radical dualism of the self, not only makes the universe seem full of dualism or multiplicity, but as well makes the self imperfect by destroying its oneness, and thereby alienating it from its true being. Thus only the loss of all consciousness and the loss of all individuality is the true salvation of the soul. It is needless to say that this is the Hindoo solution of the problem, unfortunately being solved at this time by deeds, rather than words. This, however, is no solution, for the question naturally arises, how did this unconscious, undivided, pure being, give existence to souls which attain consciousness, or self-knowledge, and thus acquire the disease of individuality? The enigma still is: How can a perfect being originate and sustain a world of imperfect beings, endowed with the capacity to develop towards perfection and likewise with the capacity to resist such development?

Without attempting to state the Aryan-Persian and Greek solutions of the problem, it is our purpose to state how, by two schools of Christian thought, the problem has been solved.

Adverting to the idea embodied in the phrase, "man made in the image of God," the claim is made by one school of thought that this idea points to the *original* or *initial*, not the *ideal* perfection of man's nature. Human nature is interpreted, not by what it immediately or actually is and by what it is capable of becoming, but rather by what it originally was, the state from which it has fallen. In support of this — for there is no historical evidence extant — imaginary pictures of an original perfection of man are indulged in. The human race, of which Adam is the type, are represented as degenerating from a primeval state of perfection and blessedness. The original, it is said, as it came from the Creator's hands was endowed with all conceivable attributes of physical and moral excellence, a perfect soul

with a perfect body as its organ; the possessor, from the beginning, of a physical form of flawless beauty, symmetry, and strength, an intelligence of commanding ability, miraculously gifted with knowledge independent of the later processes of observation and experience, and a will in perfect command of the passions and in absolute harmony with the will of the Creator. Anticipating, in short, the slow result of individual effort and the laws that condition the progressive development of the race, the first representative of mankind is supposed to have emerged into existence a full-fledged specimen of humanity, equipped with the wisdom of the sage, the exalted virtue of the hero, the purity and holiness of the saint.

This theory, it is evident, grows out of an interpretation (or misinterpretation) of the biblical account of the paradisaical state, or from the popular notion that only what is perfect can have proceeded from the hand of God, and that imperfection can only be conceived as the corruption of a nature originally good and pure.

Contrary to the biblical interpretation just mentioned, the claim is made that the perfection points, not to the *original*, or initial, but to the *ideal* perfection of man's nature. It is not, it is said, to man as *originally* created that likeness to God is exclusively ascribed in the Old or New Testament Scriptures. However the paradisaical state may be conceived, it is represented as prior to that "knowledge of good and evil" without which moral action cannot really exist, and goodness can at most be only the unconscious innocence of childhood. That though the act of disobedience, by which this knowledge comes, is depicted as a retrogression, yet it is on the other hand described as an advance; though it loses one kind of likeness to God, it effects the rise of another: "*Ye shall be as gods*, knowing good and evil." And further, it is said that the highest form of godlikeness, according to the scriptural representation, is neither man's primitive state nor the restoration of that state. A return to forfeited innocence, a recovery of the unconscious harmony of nature which sin has broken up, is impossible. The angel with the flaming sword guards inexorably the gates of the lost Eden. But the discord which sin has introduced is but

the step of transition to a more glorious harmony. Out of the death of nature rises a higher, a nobler life. On the soul which has passed through the terrible experience of evil, and which by the redemptive power of the Christian faith has triumphed over it, there begins to be impressed a likeness to God, far surpassing in spiritual beauty the lost image of Paradise. "Ye have put on," writes the Christian Apostle, "the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of Him that created him." And this image, never more to be obliterated, transcends the first, as reason and consciousness transcend the unconscious innocence of nature; for "the first man Adam was made a living soul, the last Adam was made a quickening spirit: howbeit that was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural." We have given at some length the interpretation placed on the scriptural account of what is generally known as the "fall of man" — not, however, stating in detail the argument in favor of or against that interpretation.

It must be evident, however, that even if we attribute *original* or *initial* perfection to Adam and the loss of that perfection by his act, the problem of how imperfection could come out of perfection is not solved by that theory.

The conclusion must be that the Being who simply by an act of power could turn evil into good, must be held responsible, not only for neglecting to extirpate evil and transform the whole universe of moral being into perfect goodness, but also for not preventing, by a similar act of power, the very existence of evil in the world. If a perfect being was created by an act of power, why was not the loss of perfection prevented, or, if lost, why, by like power, was it not restored?

By another school of Christian thought imperfection is admitted, and is accounted for, as we apprehend it, as follows:

In our reverence for God, it is stated, we attribute to him infinite power, and in so doing omit infinite perfection, thus losing sight of the necessity of his being as he is. Because he is, he is, and as he is, so ought he to be. In short, the existence of imperfection is the necessary result of God's being what he *is*, a living God.

To be Absolute, God must know himself as he is — that is,

pure self-determination, in the form of a will that is one with the intellect; and above all he must, and can only be, true. In perfect self-determination thought and will constitute one act and cannot be otherwise. This means that he is pure subject or self-determination—the self-active, *causa sui*, that he is his own object—that is, Absolute Subject. This is the notion of absolute personality, in as much as self-knowing (self-consciousness) and self-willing (self-determination) constitute one act.

If this be true, then God knows himself, and thus eternally makes himself an Object. To do this he recognizes in the object not another but himself, and thus must elevate the object into self-activity and independence, otherwise he would not, in the object, know himself as he *is*, and of course when he knows himself, in the object, as he *is*, he forever returns to himself from his other; that which knows itself as object recognizes itself in its object.

The *movement* of consciousness, by which difference is posited, and the return movement, by which difference is annulled and identity restored and difference again posited, are not two movements, but one movement, the self, as pure identity, differentiating itself from itself. Thus identity, being essentially different, and difference alternate as the eternal rhythm of self-activity. (This is mentioned because it has been stated that what has preceded and that which follows, though verbally intelligible, is unthinkable.)

When Absolute Subject knows in the object that which *he* is, it follows that Absolute Subject is essentially self-revealing, for he reveals, in the object, what he *is*, and thus is essentially self-revealing.

When Absolute Subject makes of himself an object, he makes a genuine, real Object, not a mere seeming object, hence he gives his own independence and own self-activity to the Object, whereby it follows that the Object is likewise Subject. If not, the Absolute Subject has not himself as an object, but only an alien object. If the object is absolute, *real* subject *and* independent, then it must follow that the self-knowledge of the Absolute results in origination of independent existence, and is not only *knowing*, but also *creating*.

It may be objected that "if all things are only the thoughts of God (thought and will being with him one act), then all things are perfect, for he sees himself in them." This is certainly a logical objection, if the insight stops here and is not followed to the end. When God, to know himself as he is, creates a perfect being like himself (and this he must do to know himself as real Object), it follows that this second Perfect Being must, in his knowledge of himself, know that he is generated, and, being generated or begotten by the first Being, the second's self-knowledge, to be perfect, involves also a consciousness of his *derivation* of origin. But to be conscious of anything, it is necessary that it be made objective; therefore, the second Perfect Being must *create* (that power being derived from the first Perfect Being by whom he was generated and begotten) a third Perfect Being — otherwise he would not be conscious of what he *is*. While the second Person, in his self-knowledge of himself, knows that he is derivative, yet, as he has perfect form — pure self-determination in the form of a will that is one with the intellect (for otherwise he would not be the likeness of God) — all derivation has been annulled in infinite past time by that fact. Thus it follows that the world of finitude is not the first act of God, but rather the second act, and the second act because of the knowledge by the second Person of his derivation from the first Person.

The second Person thus recognizes his timeless past derivation — his eternal begottenness, so to speak — but to be conscious of that (and there can only be consciousness when there is an object) he thus creates a finite but progressive world, developing from below to higher and higher forms. This is necessary that he may, in his object, know what he is, as begotten or derived.

But further, the second Perfect Person moreover *knows* his perfection, and to know it must recognize it as the summit of a progress from pure activity or empty passivity, the bottom of the process of derivation, up to self-activity, where all derivation has been annulled and pure spontaneity and freedom reached. To be conscious of this (and an object is essential to consciousness) he must know, and thus create, not only the

process from lower to higher, but the higher as well. Therefore tracing back, as it were, the derivation of himself, as a presupposed eternally past act, he perceives the first Person and inspires the third Person, the summit of a created universe. Further, as he recognizes God, the Father, by whom he was begotten, and the Father recognizes him, so the Third, inspired by their act, is the Process of eternal love, the mutual recognition of the Father and Son, as likewise the mutual recognition of the finite world and its creator.

Further, the mutual recognition of the first and second Persons, as stated, creates a third Person, and he, knowing what he is, recognizes, and is recognized by, the former. He also is, and knows that he is, the summit of the *processio*. The *processio* is creation, because the second Perfect Person knows his derivation. While the third Perfect Person is the summit of the *processio*, known so to be by the second Perfect Person, yet he is not the *processio*, though allied to it, but rather the third Perfect Person, owing to the mutual recognition of the two former.

The *processio*, being development from the less to the more perfect attains its ideal perfection in the invisible Church, the summit of which is the third Perfect Person.

It may be asked, as it has been, why does not the third Perfect Person (who has eternally proceeded rather than been generated) make an object of himself and thus cause a Fourth, who in turn originates a Fifth, and so on in infinite progression?

This difficult point, in order to make the solution complete or even possible, Christian thought has solved as follows:

It apprehends the *processio* as the eternal return of the imperfect towards the perfect. The perfect is not reached in the single individual, but in the union of men in a divine church, a community of the faithful (a "holy city, the New Jerusalem, a bride adorned for her husband"), all united in the principle of divine charity (the missionary spirit) that causes each individual to devote his whole self to the highest welfare of his fellow-men, not only in this life, but in an infinite future life. Such an institution as the "invisible church" is an infinitely perfect institution, and has, in the third Person (the Holy

Spirit), a personality who transcends, but is also the indwelling spirit of, the personality of the individuals who compose the institution. As every institution collects power from each of its members, and endows each with the power of all, so the perfect institution endows each with its infinity and perfection, and makes possible a divine life to each man in a sense utterly impossible to man as a mere individual. Inasmuch as the third divine Person has proceeded from all eternity, is proceeding and will proceed through all eternity, his institution (the "city" of which he is the spirit) includes the souls that have ascended from an infinite series of worlds. There is, then, a perpetual stream of newly created souls ascending into it from all inhabited worlds. The souls one and all have the vocation of helping all in need of help to gain knowledge and wisdom and goodness. The condition of all is a state of divine charity which gives to all and receives from all. What each gives is finite, but what each receives is infinite. The mutual coöperation of intellects and of wills makes this divine institution, whose spirit is a perfect personality that reflects perfectly the personality of the first and second divine Personalities. The differences are preserved in this First Principle of First Principles.

The First is not begotten nor has he proceeded; the Second is begotten, but has not proceeded; the Third has proceeded, but is not begotten. The personality that has proceeded differs from the First and Second in that he thinks with the aggregate intellects of the infinite invisible church, and wills with the wills of the same. The thinking and willing of this third person are nevertheless perfectly distinguishable from the thinking and willing of the individual members of the invisible church; because each individual mediates his thinking and willing through the thinking and willing of his fellow-men, as a condition of belonging to that invisible church. The will of a nation is always distinguishable from that of its individual citizens, or even from its rulers, no matter how absolute they are. For even the absolute ruler mediates his own experience of knowledge and will through that of others, and must do this in order to rule even himself, to say nothing of other men.

In this insight the world of infinitude is seen as a product

of grace, for it is a pure gift of independent existence where none was deserved. The imperfection attaching to finitude does not, of itself, forfeit this gift of grace. Self-activity, however, only increases the gift of grace, for it is only by self-activity (independence being given by grace) that it makes progress towards the perfect and becomes man, independent and free, and, at the same time, more in the likeness of God, and hence, though different, more in unity with him.

Individuality is not a thing (not a molecule or atom), but rather a process, an energy. Changes happen in a thing because it is not a whole reality but is, in part, only a potentiality. The realization of its potentialities changes it — the thing — and destroys its identity. But such realization of potentialities only confirms the self-identity of the activity. Individuality is, therefore, an activity. When it acts it realizes its potentialities; just as any force manifests its nature, or realizes itself, by acting. What was in it as potential now appears in the form of reality.

Individuality is an energy which continually acts, and each act is a manifestation to it of its inner potentiality. Such a being whose essence is activity is called *Idea*, or the *Idea* of a human being, and means formative energy, constructive and destructive. Of course, there is the idea of an individual thing also, though distinct from the idea of man, as shall appear later.

To know how to think it: consider any given thing and its producing cause. Consider all the possibilities it may have, and the total complex of these makes its idea. All the changes that the thing may have are mere realizations or manifestations of its idea. Hence any mere thing in the world is only a partial manifestation of its true self — the true self of anything being the idea. Thus the idea — the formative energy — is the total of all the potentialities of the thing. But to this thought of the complex of potentialities, as constituting its *Idea*, we must add that of self-activity, in connection with formative energy.

Matter and form explain the truth of participation. Matter is the as yet unrealized potentiality. Form is the realizing energy. Hence the difference between matter and form.

Perishable things are mere partial realizations (participations) of their ideas. Perishable things are mostly matter (un-

realized potentiality), and their change is a manifestation of their forms (meaning total formative activity) or entelechy. As in their progressive change or realization the steps of the process are means of realization, they manifest adaptation when looked at with the whole form in view. The final and the formal causes express this; for they name the totalities as the object or purpose of the process of realization of change. Hence formal cause and final cause must be identical, and the world-process must be a revelation of the pure form or pure self-activity that causes it to be and to change. Water is either solid or liquid or gaseous, but subsists in only one of these states at any given moment — when one is realized, the other two states are merely potential. All three states, in the aggregate, would be called the idea of water, which actual water, perceptible to the senses, is at no time fully realized, but only in successive states — one-third of the idea being real at one time. Now conceive that the idea of water were an entelechy or individual possessing the power to realize all its states at once. Then no farther changes would be possible, because all its potentialities would be already real. Change consists in realizing a potentiality that is not already real. Of course, water is not an entelechy; but it must have one somewhere in the universe, and that entelechy doubtless finds water, and all other material being, necessary to express all its potentialities.

Man as an individual is not, however, a thing. In the case of a self-conscious, self-determining being, as man is, we have an entelechy already able to make for himself by conscious activity a second state of being through his deeds, whereby each stage, complete in itself, though annulled is yet preserved, and thus change ensues from the state of a first entelechy to that of a second entelechy — from a state wherein the individual has the power to realize his self but has not done so, to the state wherein the individual has used the power to realize his self. God is eternally a second entelechy completely revealing his infinite power. Man is a first entelechy who is on the way toward becoming, but never becomes, a second entelechy; or, in other words, where the ideal and real never become one, but only with pure self-determination in the form of a will that is one with the

intellect. Not as yet by the form of a will and an intellect that are identical.

Whatever view we may accept as to the origin of, or the necessity for, imperfection, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that imperfection, not as an illusion but as a reality, does exist. Nor can we escape the conclusion that in man development is from the less to the more perfect.

In development from the less to the more perfect there must be accurate correspondence of the inner with the outer, otherwise there is not development, but rather deterioration. It has been correctly stated that "as a man is outwardly, that is to say in his actions (not of course in his mere bodily outwardness), so is he inwardly; and if his virtue, morality, etc., are inwardly his — that is, if they exist only in his intentions and sentiments, and his outward acts are not identical with them, the one half of him is as hollow and empty as the other."

While we recognize in any individual thing the self-activity whereby its possibilities are realized, it seems to be hard to accord to the individual man the self-determination whereby his possibilities are realized and his character formed, possibly owing to the fact that it is easier to preach than it is to practice what we preach. At all events the Saviour expressly taught the individual man, as we understand it:

"But be not ye called Rabbi: for one is your Master, even Christ; and all ye are brethren.

"And call no man your father upon the earth; for one is your Father which is in Heaven.

"Neither be ye called masters: for one is your Master, even Christ.

"But he that is greatest among you shall be your servant.

"And whosoever shall exalt himself shall be abased; and he that shall humble himself shall be exalted."

In development by self-determination it must be remembered that to what source so-ever evil may be traced, that source evidently does not lie in knowledge. In the last great agony divine mercy was asked — using not knowledge as a plea, but ignorance rather — "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do." Had they but known! If we but knew!

As a spiritual being, the Ego, as the soul developed, may be said to be a vast, characterless mine — a subject without a predicate, but capable of every predicate, without a possibility realized, but with the power to realize every possibility; — and every possibility, thus realized, must be by conscious self-determination.

FRAZER'S "FOLK-LORE IN THE OLD TESTAMENT"

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SIR JAMES GEORGE FRAZER is a well known authority on the subject he has made his own, and his voluminous works are familiar to every student of anthropology and the history of religions. The fact that he has put his extensive knowledge at the disposition of the Old Testament student is to be welcomed. This he has done in the works mentioned below,¹ the larger one in three volumes, the smaller one by condensation and omission giving the main points of interest. That the larger work meets a felt want is indicated by the fact that a second printing was called for the year after the first publication, a symptom of the present interest in the comparative study of religions.

The present reviewer makes no claim to be an authority on folk-lore, and has no criticism to offer on that part of the work. In the larger edition abundant references are given to the sources from which the information is drawn, and we have no reason to question the accuracy of the citations. The interest of the biblical student naturally turns to the Old Testament passages treated, with the desire to learn how far the alleged parallels help us to an understanding of the religion of Israel. The author's position is that the Hebrews, like other races, passed through a period of barbarism, and that this is attested by many references in their literature which can hardly be explained except as survivals from a far lower level of culture than the nation had attained in the period in which its literature took shape. With this statement we have no quarrel. The time is past when we could draw a sharp line of division between the "sacred" history of the little nation of Israel and the "profane"

¹ Folk-lore in the Old Testament: Studies in Comparative Religion, Legend, and Law, by Sir James George Frazer, Hon. D.C.L., Oxford, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Three volumes. London, Macmillan and Company, 1918 and 1919.

Folk-lore in the Old Testament (abridged edition). One volume. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1923.

history of the other nations. Mankind is one, and all its members have travelled substantially the same road, so far as they have advanced towards what we call civilization. Each stage of the advance had its links with the preceding one, and brought over a part of its ideas and customs. Survivals are therefore a constant phenomenon in the history of religion as in all other history. Even the most radical reformer must speak a language understood by his fellow men, and that language embodies earlier ideas and testifies to earlier custom. It would be unnecessary to state what seems so self-evident, were it not for the fact that many religiously minded people hesitate to apply to our Scriptures the method of comparative study which has been so fruitful in other fields of inquiry.

The superficial observer, taking up these three large volumes (seventeen hundred pages of matter), may be tempted to think that the result is to reduce the whole Old Testament to folk-lore, and thus deprive it of all originality. In fact, however, the passages of the Bible brought into the discussion are comparatively few in number. It is the number and variety of the alleged parallels which make up the bulk of the volumes. The biblical material in many cases consists of bare allusions, as we shall see. Perhaps it will conduce to clearness if we distinguish the kinds of material which go under the name of folk-lore. We can select *folk-stories*, which circulate among the people and are then taken up into the literature, and put them in a class by themselves. There remain the *folk-customs*, survivals of rites or actions the reason for which we are left to conjecture. Examples of both classes may be found in the story of Jacob, as it was recorded by the earliest pentateuchal narrators. The authors evidently collected folk-stories from the lips of the people and made them into a collected whole for the delight, and perhaps the edification, of their people. Jacob was a hero, not of strength and warlike deeds, but of shrewdness and cunning. From the narrative we can separate at least one folk-tale almost untouched by the editor. This is the anecdote of the patriarch's wrestling with a mysterious stranger at the ford of the Jabbok (Gen. 32, 24-32). All the marks of a local saga are here — the night season, the uncanny being attacking the intruder on his

domain, his desire to be released before the dawn should rise, his refusal to give his name. That all these can be paralleled in other religions is abundantly shown in the work before us. Yet it may be worth while to notice that the Hebrew writer had more than a purely literary interest. Coming across the story in his inquiries, he found that it would explain the change of name from Jacob to Israel. The name, too, of the place — Penuel, 'Face-of-God' — seemed significant. It is noticeable that the narrator did not in so many words identify the mysterious being with Yahweh, though possibly he meant his readers to assume that it was the God of Israel who thus revealed himself. The parallels adduced by Frazer² make it probable that in the original story it was the spirit of the river who resented the intrusion of the stranger. Such parallels are found in Greece, Africa, India, and even among the American Indians.

In this connection we are reminded of the discovery of a spring in the South Country by Hagar (Gen 16 and 21). In this case it was a friendly divinity who appeared and revealed the fountain, and probably the original saga thought of him as the spirit who dwelt in the spring. In one form of the story the narrator calls him Elohim; in the other we learn at the conclusion of the account that it was Yahweh, for Hagar "called the Yahweh who appeared to her" by the new name El-Roi. To be sure, the present text speaks of the angel of Yahweh in one case and the angel of Elohim in the other, but this is due to later scrupulosity.

Like Homer and Kipling, therefore, the Hebrew writers took their material wherever they found it, and like them they adapted it to their purpose, which was to show how the ancestral God revealed himself to the fathers. Among the tales which early attached themselves to the sanctuaries of the land we must place the account of Jacob at Bethel. The patriarch comes to the place not knowing that it is sacred. But a dream is the means of revelation, and it tells him that the divinity dwells there. He therefore erects a pillar which he consecrates by anointing it. So it becomes a bethel, a house of God, and the spot is a centre of worship throughout the history of Israel.

² Volume II, pp. 412-424. My citations are from the three-volume edition.

Such stones, as is well known, were adjuncts of the altar at many Israelite shrines, and parallels are adduced from many regions. In fact at the present day a saint may reveal himself in a dream as inhabiting a certain rock and command that the people pay him honor there. Examples are cited from Palestine, and Frazer has no difficulty in finding others. That dreams are the means of revelation is an almost universal belief, and the ladder reaching up to heaven also has its parallels. Citations of dreams, ladders, and sacred stones are given here.³

Another sacred stone is mentioned in connection with Jacob's covenant with Laban (Gen. 31, 44-54). Two accounts have apparently been combined, as is so often the case in Genesis. One speaks of a heap of stones, a cairn; the other of a single stone, a pillar like the one at Bethel. Each account assumes that the sacred object, whether cairn or pillar, is inhabited by a divinity, for both are called upon to witness the covenant. The covenant is ratified by the parties eating on the cairn — doubtless in order that the spirit may take part in the feast. Frazer is inclined to think that eating on the stone is similar to some other stone-ceremonies where the parties tread on a stone to indicate the firmness with which they give their pledge.⁴ This does not come out in the biblical account, though covenants at the altar (another sacred stone) were doubtless common in Israel. Stories such as this are significant in that they show the multitude of local sanctuaries in the pre-deuteronomic period. At each of these shrines the divinity was more or less distinctly identified with Yahweh, and the result in the mind of the common man was practical polytheism, something against which the prophets and finally the author or compiler of Deuteronomy protested.

The story of Jacob thus gives us genuine folk-lore, modified in certain particulars in order to teach the lesson which the narrators had at heart. In the cases of Penuel, Bethel, and now of Mizpah we have sagas connected with place-names. Somewhat different is the story of Jacob's securing the birthright. Or, if we take it as folk-lore, suggested by local and geographical considerations, we cannot altogether adopt the explanation sug-

³ Volume II, part II, chapter IV.

⁴ Volume II, part II, chapter VIII.

gested by Sir James Frazer. What he does is to take up a suggestion of Joseph Jacobs ⁵ to the effect that in early Israel the first-born son had no superior claim, but that by preference the inheritance went to the younger, by what he calls ultimogeniture. According to the theory, Jacob's sharp practice was designed to secure that which was his by right, but which he feared to lose. In various regions of the earth the custom of ultimogeniture has undoubtedly been established, What Sir James shows by his citations is that among pastoral peoples not infrequently the older sons, as soon as they reach maturity, take their flocks and go in search of new pastures. The youngest son is thus left in the paternal tent and inherits it on the death of the father. But the only indication of such a custom in Israel is the case of Jacob. Everywhere in the Old Testament it is assumed that the oldest son has the preference. Isaac, it is true, was younger than Ishmael, but Ishmael as son of a slave would naturally be regarded as inferior. How the matter lay in the mind of the Hebrew writer is clear. In his genealogical scheme Ishmael and Isaac were brothers; that is, Ishmaelites and Israelites were of the same stock. But Ishmael, living in the southern desert, had affinities with the clans who lived on the borders of Egypt. Therefore he was not of pure blood, and not fully entitled to the inheritance promised to Abraham. This leaves us with the case of Esau and Jacob, twin brothers of pure blood on their mother's as well as their father's side. The puzzling fact (to the man who adopted the current view of the preference of the first-born) was that Esau the elder had the comparatively poor country of Edom, while Jacob the younger had the Promised Land. Doubtless popular opinion had solved the problem before our Hebrew writer approached it. In popular opinion, as we have seen, Jacob was a hero of finesse, and in his dealings with his brother as well as those with Laban his shrewdness stood him in good stead. He first drove a hard bargain for the birthright, and then deceived his father and defrauded his brother, aided and abetted by his mother, thus securing the blessing which gave him title to the land. If any custom of ultimogeniture existed in Israel, this author betrays no conscious-

⁵ Studies in Biblical Archaeology, 1894, pp. 47-63.

ness of it, and the popular opinion which had anticipated him was equally ignorant. Instead of remaining at home and thus securing himself in possession of the family property, like the younger sons in pastoral society, Jacob was the one who went away to seek his fortune.

The patriarchal stories reflect tribal conditions, and the narrators are bound by geographical considerations, in the case both of Esau and of Ishmael. Still it remains true that in describing the family life of the patriarchs the authors would picture social conditions as they were familiar with them. Had there been any custom of ultimogeniture in Hebrew society, they would have given it a place in their narratives. But except for the instances alleged, which we have discussed, we seek in vain for any hint of such a custom. Interesting as it is therefore to read the accounts of the custom as it has existed in various quarters of the globe ⁶ we cannot feel that the data really bear on the subject of folk-lore in the Old Testament. And what the elaborate discussion of the *jus primae noctis* which is appended has to do with the Old Testament is difficult to understand. The single allusion to the so-called Tobias-nights which is adduced from the Latin version of Tobit certainly does not belong to the Old Testament.

The story of Jacob gives us still other material for discussion. When his father-in-law gave him Leah instead of Rachel, he pleaded the custom of the country, which did not allow a younger sister to be married before the older. In all probability the custom was as Laban stated it, for in this case we have parallels in plenty.⁷ In some tribes it is not even allowable for the younger son to marry before the older, or if it is done it is looked upon as a grave breach of morality. In some tribes also the husband of an older sister has a prescriptive right to the younger ones. Jacob's marrying the two sisters was therefore in accord with ancient custom, although later legislation forbade such unions. One survival, however, shows that in Israel the custom at one time prevailed. This is the levirate, according to which if a man dies without issue it becomes the duty of his brother to marry the widow and thus raise up seed for the

⁶ Volume I, part II, chapter II, pp. 429-565.

⁷ Volume II, pp. 263-341.

deceased. Whether this is a survival from a system of group-marriage, as Sir James supposes, we need not decide. For the Hebrew legislation, or the preservation of ancient custom, as the case may be, the motive is plain. It was the desire for offspring, that every man should have a son to perpetuate his name. In the last resort the aim probably was that due honor should be paid to the spirits of the parents after their death. At the evidence for animism we shall look in another connection.

A tempting subject for comparative study, as the commentaries have found out, is the great flood. Sir James here treats it at length, basing his discussion correctly on the older (J) of the two documents from which the text is made up. The record bears all the marks of folk-lore, and we must suppose that it circulated orally for some time before it found a literary man to put it into written form. The fact that it is based on a Babylonian original is now too well established to be ignored. Whether it reached the Canaanites before the Hebrew occupation of the country, or whether it came when increased commercial activity in the reign of Solomon promoted the interchange of ideas, we can no longer make out. What interests us as students of the Old Testament is the way in which the author has treated his material. He takes over the main features of the story; the warning by the divinity, the building of the ark, the widespread destruction, the sending out of the birds, and the sacrifice at the end are all here. But it is all purged of its polytheism. In the Babylonian original the gods sit in council, then one of them without the knowledge of the rest surreptitiously warns his favorite. Ishtar weeps as she sees the death of her worshippers, Bel is angry that a man has escaped. The gods themselves cower like dogs before the storm, then elbow each other to get a share of the sacrificial aroma. In the Hebrew account Yahweh alone is the actor, rewards Noah for his righteousness, remembers him when the flood is at its height, takes occasion by the sacrifice to resolve never to send another deluge.

For comparative study, then, the Babylonian material would seem to be sufficient. But Sir James gives us the embarrassment of riches. To about five pages taken from the Bible he

gives over two hundred and fifty of other flood-stories.⁸ He not only surveys mankind from China to Peru, but he traverses the great ocean to China again. While the information is no doubt valuable, we might raise the question whether most of it belongs in a discussion of folk-lore in the Old Testament. The conclusion that we draw from examining it is that stories of this kind arise in various ways. In Babylonia, for example, some great inundation of the Euphrates valley was magnified in the imagination of later generations, and finally became a part of the received mythology. Similarly, it is easy to suppose that the Ganges in flood was the germ of the Hindoo story. In other regions some other cause must be sought. In the island-world the sight of lands rising precipitously from the ocean would lead men to speculate on the possibility of the ocean having once covered the highest peaks. The phenomenon of tidal waves would encourage such speculations, and it is well known that the observation of fossil shells found far from the ocean was explained as the result of a cataclysm such as tradition connected with Noah or Deucalion. Such remains were thought to attest the accuracy of the biblical account almost down to our own time. We are in presence therefore of something which is not peculiar to the Bible, but is part of the intellectual development of the race, mythological in so far as it attributes natural phenomena to the action of the gods, scientific in so far as it attempts to explain the working of natural forces.

In his treatment of the creation-story in Genesis Sir James again rightly leaves the priestly document out of the discussion. The inevitable anthropomorphism of the early thinker is plainly in evidence, and we have no hesitation in calling the substance of the account folk-lore. What was the form of the original oral tradition, if such existed, we have no means of knowing. What is plain is that to the desert-dweller an oasis is the home of a divinity. The hand of man has not made it fruitful; some supernatural agency must have planted its fruit-trees and watered them. Just as man rejoices when by irrigation he has redeemed the barren soil of the desert, so Yahweh rejoiced in the garden he had planted, and he refreshed himself by walk-

⁸ Volume I, part I, chapter IV.

ing there in the cool of the evening. The fashioning of man out of the soil seemed the proper way of creation to people accustomed to watch the work of the potter; and "dust thou art and unto dust shalt thou return" suggested itself when men observed the dust to which the human frame is reduced by the process of dissolution. So far there is nothing in the story that should surprise us. The mystery comes in with the appearance of the serpent, and the taste of the forbidden fruit. Sir James is inclined to think that in the source from which the Hebrew writer drew, the two trees in the garden were a tree of life and a tree of death. He therefore cites as parallel a number of legends ⁹ which describe how the divinity sent a messenger to men telling them to eat of the tree of life, but that the messenger, either of malignant design or through mere stupidity, changed the message. So men ate of the wrong tree, and in that way death came into the world.

With the best will in the world we cannot find any trace of such a legend in our Hebrew story. So far from the divinity wishing man to be immortal he takes pains to prevent such a consummation, and expels him from the garden lest he should eat of the tree of life. What is plain is that the Hebrew writer thought it a matter of course that the master of the garden should impose such restrictions as he chose. Moreover to test the obedience of the newly created Adam seemed not a bad thing. Does not righteousness consist in obedience to the divine command? The motive of the serpent remains enigmatical, to be sure. We at once dismiss the traditional theory that he was the evil spirit, the tempter. As the wisest of the animals it seems more likely that he valued knowledge, and thought it a pity that Adam and Eve should be deprived of what would promote them to the state of gods. The author of the account had no interest in the story as folk-lore. In all seriousness he was attempting to solve social problems. Why should the peasant be compelled to gain his bread by hard toil? Why should woman have so difficult a parturition and yet crave motherhood? An answer to these questions seemed given by the narrative of Eden.

⁹ Volume I, pp. 52-76.

Whether Sir James Frazer is quite fair to the author in saying that he had deep contempt for woman, shown by the lateness of her creation and the irregular and undignified method of it, is a question that suggests itself. It would be more just to say that taking her from man's side (nearest the heart, shall we say?) and making her bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh was designed to show her fitness to be a companion meet for her husband, one for whom he would leave father and mother. It seems again to be reading something into the text when Sir James declares that Yahweh flew into a towering passion.

In the parallels alleged to the creation-story the two contrasted trees are assigned to man and the serpent in such a way that while man partakes of the fruit of death, the serpent eats of the tree of life and so attains immortality. Observation of the fact that the serpent sheds its skin and so renews its youth gives occasion for this theory. If this feature appeared in the original from which the Hebrew writer drew, he has drastically changed his text. We have already said that we have no wish to deny that the original was a folk-story — the part played by the serpent is sufficient to classify it as such. But we fail to find a tree of death in the tree of knowledge. Perhaps it may be pleaded that a tree of death is indicated by the threat: "In the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt die"; but the threat stands quite by itself and has no influence on the sequel. In fact the serpent was quite right when he assured Eve that she should not die from eating the fruit, but that she and her husband should become like God in knowing good and evil. This was the actual result, as is confessed by Yahweh himself. All things considered, therefore, we do not find that the stories which tell of the perverted message are actually parallel to the biblical account.

In immediate sequence to the story of Eden we have a discussion of the mark of Cain.¹⁰ The subject is confessedly one of great obscurity, and light thrown on it from any quarter would be welcome. The fear of the murderer that whoever should find him would slay him seems uncalled for, if there were no men on the earth, as the narrative shows, except Cain's own par-

¹⁰ Volume I, part I, chapter III.

ents. It is suggested by Frazer that what he feared was the ghost of his victim. What we learn from the biblical text is that the blood of the murdered man cries from the ground, and when there is no next of kin to avenge the death Yahweh himself is appealed to. Banishment from the cultivated country and from the presence of the divinity is the penalty, in accordance with later usage. What surprises us is that Yahweh, instead of acting as the avenger, gives Cain a mark to protect him from every enemy. The blood of the exile is of course free to the first comer, and it is this which arouses Cain's fear. Possibly his imagination peopled the wilderness with hostile demons. Was the mark an amulet to protect him from the ghost? This is Frazer's hypothesis, and perhaps as good as any. Certain rites intended to propitiate the ghost in case of manslaughter are adduced as parallels. On the other hand it is possible that the Hebrew author has taken up a tradition of the tribe which regarded Cain as their ancestor, according to which their tribal mark, on which they relied as a protection from all enemies, was originally given them by the grace of God.

After the flood came the tower of Babel, and the story is undoubtedly to be classed as folk-lore. Attached originally to one of the great temple-towers in the Euphrates valley, something which aroused the wonder of the Bedawin, it was welcomed by the Hebrew author because it seemed to explain the puzzling varieties of human speech. Frazer takes occasion in connection with it to relate various myths concerning attempts of men to reach the sky, and also various theories which have been held about the original language of men ¹¹ and the reason for the differences which now prevail. Except where biblical influence is to be suspected, these stories are not closely parallel to our text. That the Hebrew author drew on an early myth is not unlikely. If so, he discarded the polytheism, as he did in other cases. The anthropomorphism is not unlike what we have already met in other passages.

The Samson story has given rise to a large amount of discussion. The sun-myth hypothesis has some attractive features, but the alleged mythological details have mostly disappeared

¹¹ Volume I, part I, chapter V.

from the tale as it has come down to us. The hero is no longer the sun taking his course through the constellations. He is a knight-errant seeking and finding occasion to fight the enemies of his people. The only primitive feature is the belief that his strength lay in his hair, and this is similar to what we find among other peoples, as is abundantly illustrated in the work under review.¹² In its grotesque form it asserts that the life of a magician or of a giant is so connected with a certain hair that when this is pulled out the man dies. More remote, but well attested, is the belief that a man's soul or his life is kept safe in some place remote from his body, in an egg, for example, or a bird. Of this belief in Israel we have no very conclusive evidence, though Sir James Frazer finds an allusion to it in Abigail's prayer that David's life may be bound in the bundle of the living and that the lives of his enemies may be slung out of a sling.¹³ Analogies are found in the churingas of the Australian natives. More precarious is the hypothesis that the houses of the soul (*nephesh*) mentioned among the ornaments worn by the women of Jerusalem in Isaiah's day are amulets in which the wearer keeps her soul from harm. Scent-boxes or bottles of smelling-salts might receive the name because of their power to revive the fainting soul. In the case of Samson the Hebrew text accounts for his strength residing in his hair by making him a Nazir, the sign of his consecration being his unshorn locks. When these were gone, Yahweh departed from him and he became like any other man. To this extent the Hebrew writer attempts to give a religious coloring to the narrative. The note that Samson judged Israel twenty years, which is made the occasion of a sarcastic remark by Sir James, does not belong to the original story, but is part of the attempt to give the period some sort of chronology. The term 'judge' in any case gives us a false impression, if we read into it the modern meaning.

Although we have not yet met a clear indication of the idea that the soul can be detached from the body, there is one passage which shows the existence of such a belief. This is Ezekiel's denunciation of women who practice uncanny arts (Ezek. 13, 17-23). We learn from that passage that women

¹² Volume II, part III, chapter VI.

¹³ Volume III, part III, chapter VII.

claiming to be prophetesses made and sold amulets, and that they pretended to be able to entrap people's souls in nets, thus slaying or keeping alive whom they would. The melancholy history of witchcraft in all ages gives the commentary on the passage. Like other witches these practitioners plied their trade for pay — a handful of barley or a morsel of bread. Sir James illustrates this particular art of catching souls from Africa and East India.¹⁴ The attitude of the prophet is thoroughly hostile, yet he seems to concede that the method of the witches is sometimes effective, for instead of saying that their efforts are vain and nought, he declares that Yahweh will interfere and counteract their activities by tearing their nets and letting the souls go free. Doubtless the men of light and leading in Israel were constantly in conflict with the lower ideas held by the common people and revealed to us by this little sermon.

The popular religion is shown to us by the opposition of the prophets, and in like manner the prohibitions of the Law are significant. Among these a prominent place must be given to the legislation against certain rites of mourning. These include shaving the head, trimming the beard, and making cuttings in various parts of the body. Such actions when a death occurs in the family or neighborhood have been observed in all parts of the world. Readers of the *Thousand and One Nights* will remember the havoc which the slave Kafur wrought by a false report that his master was dead. Not only did his mistress throw off her veil, rend her clothes, and tear her face with her nails, but she called the slave to help in destroying the furniture of the house. Similar expressions of grief, as we interpret them, are observed at the present day, including the shaving of the head, or the shearing of the long locks of the women. While we naturally attribute these actions to grief at the bereavement, there are indications that something more is involved. The fact that the hair is deposited at the tomb, or wound around the tombstone, is significant, for it reminds us that hair-offerings are brought also to the gods. Cuttings of the flesh are acts of worship, as is attested by the priests of Baal in their contest with Elijah. It seems quite clear, therefore, that we have to do with

¹⁴ Volume II, pp. 511 f.

survivals of a primitive animism, worship of the departed. In fact the dominant emotion at the sight of death is fear, and where there is belief in the activity, often malevolent, of the ghost, the natural effort is either to conciliate it or to ward it off. Whether the mutilation or painting of the body was not originally intended to disguise the person and so escape the notice of the spirit we cannot determine. There seems no clear evidence of such an intention in Israel. What is significant is that the actions prohibited are said to defile the Israelite, that is, make him unfit to approach the sanctuary. Worship of any other divinity than Israel's own God does thus defile. We are reminded that in Greek religion he who had been in the sanctuary of a hero must undergo purification before approaching the higher gods. Bearing this in mind we understand Ezekiel's energetic protest against the custom of burying the kings of Judah in the palace, in close proximity to the temple. The prophet in fact stigmatizes the reverence paid to these dead as idolatry ("whoredom"). The tenacity of such animism is shown by the denunciation of a later prophet, aimed at those who provoked Yahweh by lodging among the graves, and showed their consecration to the abhorred objects of worship by warning men against coming near them lest they too partake of the infection. All these prohibitions and denunciations show the strength of folk-custom, in proportion as they testify to the reaction of the prophets and lawgivers against it.

The crowning evidence of animism is the account of the visit of Saul to the witch of Endor. To understand its place in the literature we must remember that the life of Saul was written by a man who, looking back upon it, was obsessed by the idea that the misfortunes of the king were due to his rejection by Yahweh. The older document, which is preserved in part, shows that the people were moved to demand a king not by "dissatisfaction with the rule of pontiffs who professed to govern them in the name of the Deity,"¹⁵ but by the Philistine oppression against which the tribal sheikhs could make no headway. And the same sources show that Saul was measurably successful. That his nerves gave way under the heavy

¹⁵ Volume II, p. 517.

strain is hardly to be wondered at. As all that happens is by the will of the god, the neurasthenia was attributed to an evil spirit sent by Yahweh. The consequent rejection by the prophet is pictured for us not only by the account of the Amalekite war but by the interview with the spirit of Samuel with which we are now concerned. Whether popular tradition had already taken hold of the subject we have no means of knowing. The popular belief is plain. According to the Law, necromancers are among the practitioners of forbidden arts, but the desire to consult the spirits of the dead is almost universal. That it involved some sort of worship seems clear from the fact that the woman in this case called the spirit which she saw a god. Sir James Frazer has no difficulty in presenting parallels to this evocation of spirits, not only among what we call savage tribes but from classic authors as well.¹⁶ Its prevalence in Israel is made known not only by this chapter but by the denunciations of the prophets. From this point of view it is not hard to understand the emphasis laid by the early narratives on the burial-places of the ancestors.

Space forbids extended discussion of all the examples urged by our author. That Joseph could divine by means of a magic cup was doubtless in accord with popular belief. The mandrakes found by Reuben were regarded as having magic power in Israel, as they were in Christian countries down to the middle age. The fable of Jotham, which makes the trees talk, belongs to a well-known class of literature. The ideas concerning a census of the people which came to the front in the life of David are easily paralleled outside of Palestine. Sacred trees are apparently indicated by some Scripture passages and are in accordance with what we find in other regions. The visit of the queen of Sheba is told in a straightforward manner by the biblical writer, and is quite different from the rabbinical and Muslim exaggerations which are here rehearsed; and the story of the judgment of Solomon seems to have no parallel except in literature which we must suspect to have borrowed from the Hebrew.

The story of Moses' infancy, however, stands on a somewhat

¹⁶ Volume II, part III, chapter VIII.

different footing. Sargon, an early king of Babylon, relates that his mother placed him in a basket of reeds and committed him to the river. The resemblance to the story in Exodus is so close that we are warranted in suspecting some connection. Popular imagination, as we know, loves to adorn the infancy of great men with marvels, and probably this story, borrowed from Babylon, circulated among the people for some time before it was put on record. Sir James takes occasion from it to quote a number of anecdotes of the exposure of infants who afterwards became great,¹⁷ but it is not likely that they have any place in folk-lore in the Old Testament. So with the crossing of the Red Sea; ancient faith in the direct working of the divinity naturally saw in the event the intervention of Israel's god, much as Josephus saw a providence in Alexander's march along the flooded beach at the base of the Taurus mountains. This and some other alleged parallels are cited, but of course there is here no question of influence on the biblical text.

In Israel, as elsewhere, codified law embodies social custom and we must expect to find in it traces of folk-lore. An example is the curious prohibition: "Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk." Sir James gives a sketch of the historical development in accordance with the now accepted results of criticism,¹⁸ and points out that this regulation is not only found in the earliest document but is repeated in two other places, the repetition being evidence of the importance with which it was regarded. The explanation which he suggests is based on the observation that in certain pastoral tribes the boiling of milk is prohibited because of the belief that this treatment of it would affect the cow that gave it, make her lose her milk or even bring sickness upon her, an example of sympathetic magic. It must be clear, however, that if the Hebrew author had had any notion of this kind, he would have made his prohibition sweeping enough to prevent all boiling of milk. What he does forbid is the specific action of boiling a kid in its own mother's milk. In the so-called decalogue of J we find commandments dealing with the agricultural life. When Israel should come into Canaan they would observe the feasts in honor of Yahweh, who by

¹⁷ Volume II, part III, chapter I.

¹⁸ Volume III, part IV, chapter II.

bringing them into the land became lord of the soil. But in learning the art of cultivation they were in danger of taking over various idolatrous rites on which the Canaanites supposed the fertility of the soil to depend. The complaint of the biblical authors is in fact that the people worshipped the Baals and Ashtarts. Now the kid seems to have been associated with the worship of Ashtart. It is not difficult to suppose that what is here prohibited had some reference to her as the goddess of animal fertility. There is something to be said therefore for the statement of a mediæval writer to the effect that there was a magic rite intended to increase the fruitfulness of the fields in which a kid was boiled in its mother's milk, and the flesh then cut in pieces and scattered over the ground. In the two older codes the prohibition follows the command to bring the first-fruits to the altar, and just before this is the prohibition of offering leavened bread with the sacrifice, and of leaving any fat until the morning. It looks as though the things prohibited were of Canaanitish observance; and if the bringing of the first-fruits suggested that steps should be taken to secure a continuance of the fertility to which they testified, we can understand the place in which we find the command; as though the lawgiver were saying: Bring your firstfruits, but do not attempt to follow the tradition which recommends the boiling of a kid in its mother's milk.

This is conjectural, but without conjecture we do not get very far. Let us look at one instance in which the Law has actually taken up a piece of folk-custom. This is the ordeal of jealousy.¹⁹ The primitive religious ideas underlying the rite are obvious. A woman suspected of adultery is brought to the sanctuary for the decision of God. She is led to the altar and an offering of barley meal is put into her hand. She is solemnly adjured concerning her possible guilt. She is then made to drink of the ordeal cup, the contents of which are sacred water (a phrase nowhere else used in the Old Testament, possibly from a sacred well) in which dust from the floor of the sanctuary has been mixed. The priest, having written out on a piece of parchment the curses which he has already pronounced, washes them off

¹⁹ Volume III, part IV, chapter V.

into the cup which the accused person must drink. Evidently the sacredness of the water and of the dust, reinforced by the curses now contained in the cup, are believed to have the power in themselves of distinguishing the guilty from the innocent. We are told in so many words that if she is guilty the result of the ordeal will be to inflict serious disease upon her (perhaps produce abortion), whereas if she is innocent she will be fruitful.

Parallels are alleged in great number by Frazer, most of them from Africa. The difference between these and the Hebrew custom is that in Africa the drink administered is an active poison. If the stomach of the accused person rejects it, he is assumed to be innocent; otherwise death follows, often hastened by violence on the part of the spectators. The crime brought to this test is usually witchcraft, though instances are recorded of women clearing themselves of the charge of adultery by taking the poison. So firm is the faith of the natives in the accuracy of the test that when they believe themselves to be suspected they will ask for the trial. The comparative humanity of the Hebrew rite, in which no poison is used, needs no emphasis. What effect suggestion may have had on the victim is not revealed, since no cases of application of the test have been recorded. It is not difficult to suppose that faith in the power of the curse might induce confession of guilt, or in a person of nervous temperament might cause serious derangement. In any case it seems to be something like a work of supererogation to collect the large number of examples of the poison-ordeal which are here massed together.

I have passed over a number of places in which the analogy between Hebrew beliefs and customs and those of other nations does not seem established. Thus in connection with Jacob's deception of his father we read that the skin of a kid was placed on his hands and neck as part of his disguise. Frazer makes the detail a text for a long discussion of ceremonies of a new birth in which skins of sacrificial animals are used. To the Hebrew narrator, however, the detail would naturally suggest itself without any symbolical reference. With regard to the covenant between Yahweh and Abraham it does not seem necessary to suppose the author conscious of the original meaning of the

parties passing between the pieces of the slain victims. It was enough for him that the form was already an established thing to which Yahweh graciously conformed. Whether the ox that gored was regularly brought to trial before being condemned, after the method used in the middle age with animals guilty of manslaughter, is not told us in our text. The silence of widows which is inferred from the etymology of the word seems nowhere to have been observed in Israel.

While there may be differences of opinion concerning these points, we may give a little further attention to the hypothesis of the activity of evil spirits. From the phrase "keepers of the threshold," applied to a certain class of officers in the temple, our author deduces the existence of certain beliefs in Israel, similar to those which are attested in other nations. There seems to be in fact a wide-spread custom of treating the threshold with respect, and we naturally think that the explanation is the fear of spirits which lurk there. The only question is whether such a fear could be entertained with reference to the temple. One would suppose that the presence of Yahweh would forbid any trespass on his territory by the demons. In this connection we read the denunciation of Zephaniah: "I will punish those who leap upon the threshold, who fill their master's house with violence and deceit." The connection seems to make it clear that what the prophet has in mind is some foreign custom, and it is difficult to find in it evidence of more than that. From a story in Samuel we learn that the Philistines were careful to avoid stepping on the threshold of their temple. But this again gives no certain evidence as to Hebrew belief or custom.

Something of the same kind may be said about the discussion of the bells on the robe of the highpriest.²⁰ We concede at once that bells and gongs, as well as the firing of guns and crackers, are supposed to ward off the evil spirits. But in the case of the highpriest we remember that he is a consecrated person, that his raiment is sacred in the highest degree, and that he wears it on the most solemn festival of the year. Is it likely that in the temple and in these circumstances the demons would show their activity? On the other hand we remember that to come un-

²⁰ Volume III, part IV, chapter VII.

announced into the Most Sacred Room might be fatal to the intruder. The case of Uzzah would be in point. What we conclude is that the bells were to indicate to the divinity that his servant was coming for the solemn act of purifying the place of his dwelling. That the divinity was in fact present in the temple in the most literal sense was of course the firm belief of the compilers of the Law.

This paper has touched upon the more important points raised by Frazer in his elaborate discussion,²¹ and the reader can form a judgment as to how far the material helps to an understanding of the Old Testament. That it in fact throws light on some passages which have been a puzzle to the commentators, and that it brings the religion of Israel out of the isolation in which earlier study kept it, is clear. But it is also clear that the religion of Israel on which folk-lore throws light is not the religion which most nearly concerns us. The popular religion of Israel, like the popular religion of other nations, had its sacred trees, its sacred stones, its sacred wells. It adored local divinities even when it called them by the name of Yahweh. It sought communion with the dead, and paid some sort of reverence to the spirits of the departed. All this we recognize, and it is brought into clearer light by such a study as we have now examined. But even the writers who have preserved these evidences of early belief and custom show that they did not altogether adopt the popular view; and it is noticeable that the passages to which parallels are found in other religions are not taken from the works of prophets or psalmists or sages. These men, to whom we owe what is of most value to us, rose above the religion of the mass and set themselves in direct opposition to it. Our study makes us realize the obstacles which they must have encountered and the courage with which they surmounted them.

²¹ These topics are discussed also in the abridged edition. The main differences between this and the larger work are the omission of the long footnotes and the excision of some of the less important chapters. The two most extended of these are the discussion of cross-cousins and ortho-cousins suggested by Jacob's marriage, and one on boring the servant's ear. In both cases the result for the Old Testament is very slight.

NOTES

MEDINA AND ΠΟΛΙΣ, AND LUKE i. 39

In the *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, vol. XV, 1909, pp. 259 f., and again in my essay entitled 'The Translations made from the Original Aramaic Gospels,' in the *Studies in the History of Religions presented to Crawford Howell Toy*, 1912, pp. 290-292, I attempted to show that the curious phrase *εἰς πόλιν* 'Ιούδα in Luke i. 39 is a mistaken rendering of the original Hebrew אל מדינת יהודה, which should have been translated by *εἰς τὴν χώραν* τῆς 'Ιουδαίας, 'to the province of Judea.' In the former publication, which was merely a series of 'Notes on the Aramaic Part of Daniel,' the passage in Luke was brought in incidentally in connection with a brief discussion of the question at what time the ordinary meaning of the word *medina* (Hebrew or Aramaic) passed over, in Jewish usage, from 'province' to 'city.' In the later essay some evidence was produced tending to show that the Infancy Section of Luke's gospel (chaps. i and ii) was translated by him from a Hebrew original, while the remainder of the gospel is made up from his renderings of Aramaic documents. The argument from Luke i. 39 was given in substantially the same form as in the previous publication.

In the *Anglican Theological Review*, March, 1923, vol. V, pp. 324-332, J. F. Springer presents a counter-argument under the title 'Medina and πόλις,' designed to show that the hypothesis of mistranslation in Luke i. 39 is untenable, the substance of his argument being the contention that the Semitic word *medīna* cannot be shown to have the meaning 'city' as early as the second century A.D. This statement will not be accepted by experts in Semitics; however, the article shows me that my own presentation of the matter was defective, and even misleading, and it has therefore seemed to me desirable to return to the subject, with a view to correcting misapprehensions which may be more general than I had supposed. Moreover, new and important material, hitherto unused, relating to the history of the word *medīna*, can now be presented.

The word *medīna* is Aramaic, in Hebrew obviously borrowed (Kautzsch, *Aramäismen im A. T.*, pp. 48 ff.). Since the Old Aramaic literature has perished, with the exception of a few small fragments, there is little information to be had regarding the native usage in the

pre-christian period; in the second century after Christ, and thereafter, the material is abundant. In the Old Testament the word is found in both Hebrew and Aramaic writings. On the basis of the documents which we have, it now seems possible to make the following general statement, which is not very likely to be affected by future discoveries: In Hebrew and Jewish-Aramaic writings, from the earliest attested use of the word down through the first few centuries after Christ, *medīna* has the meaning 'province'; in the Gentile usage it always and everywhere means 'city.'

The earliest clear example of the Gentile use which we happen to have comes from the fifth century B.C. The word occurs, as a manifest borrowing, in an Egyptian document from Ethiopia, a royal inscription preserved in the Berlin museum, written in the late hieroglyphic script. W. Max Müller, in the *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, VI, 74b, below (1903), called attention to the word *mdiynt* in this inscription and pointed out its importance, showing that it was borrowed from the official (Aramaic) terminology of the Persian government in Egypt, and that its meaning was precisely ("*ganz genau*") 'capital city of the district' ("*Kreishauptstadt*"), so that in a way it stands between the Biblical 'province' and the ordinary Aramaic 'city.' No one who is acquainted with the work of the late Professor Müller will need to be told that his "*ganz genau*" is not to be questioned. The high value of this early testimony from Egypt, dated by him between 500 and 400 B.C., is therefore assured.

To this same period belong the Aramaic papyri from Assuan-Elephantine published by Sayce and Cowley (*Aramaic Papyri discovered at Assuan*, 1906) and Sachau (*Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus Elephantine*, 1911). In the documents contained in the latter publication the word מדינה happens to occur several times, but in no case is there anything in the context which can render the precise meaning certain. Sachau renders now by 'Stadt,' now by 'Stadt (Provinz?),' and again by 'Provinz (Stadt?),' feeling tolerably sure of his rendering only in the case of Papyrus 7, line 7, where he decides for the meaning 'city' — for reasons which do not seem to me to be conclusive. Both Sachau and the other translators and interpreters of the Elephantine documents, who generally render 'province' without even a query, rely solely on the Palestinian-Jewish use of *medīna*, apparently in the belief that the only contemporary testimony to the meaning of the word is that which is found in the Old Testament. I have seen in this connection no allusion to the occurrence of the word in the Egyptian inscription in the hieroglyphic script, mentioned

above. Müller's note, printed in small type in connection with the technical discussion of the publication of an Egyptologist, would be likely to escape the attention of workers in other fields. I myself became aware of it only very recently, and I suspect that it also escaped the notice of many of my colleagues. Beyond all question this specimen of Egyptian usage, and not the Old Testament, must be the starting point in interpreting *medīna* in the Aramaic papyri. As Müller saw, and as every scholar must see, the only possible explanation of the occurrence of this foreign technical term in such an Egyptian document is that it was adopted from the official Persian-Aramaic terminology, as a word that was thoroughly familiar and definite in its meaning. In such an administrative terminology the distinction between 'city' and 'province' would certainly be clear; it is to be remembered, moreover, that 'city' seems to be indicated by all the Gentile usage as the ordinary meaning of the word in Old Aramaic (see below). When therefore we find the phrase מדינת נא in Sachau 22, col. 3, line 4 (I use the numbering of the plates, as Sachau himself does in his Index), we are bound to render, nothing opposing, 'the *city* of Thebes,' not 'the *province* of Thebes.' Similarly, in 7, 7 מדינתא is presumably the city of Syene (as Sachau regarded it), not the province. Sachau raises the question (pp. 42, 52), why מדינתא Syene is called מדינתא here, but בירתא, 'fortress,' in 1, 7, and why יב Elephantine is always בירתא. The answer is given by the context. In 1, 7 the military citadel alone is intended, as always in the case of יב; in 7, 7 it is the administrative unit, the capital city. In 11, 6 מדינתנא is certainly 'our city,' and פקיד למדינתא is 'made prefect of a city' (cf. Judg. 9, 28; 30). In 5, 1, 2, 6, the fragment of a report of minor officials to their superior, the word מדינתא is more probably plural, 'cities,' judging from what little of the context is preserved. In 61 (obv.), 6, 2 and (rev.) 11, 2 we have only a part of the single word, with no helping context. Finally, in the Strassburg Papyrus, republished in the Sachau volume, pp. 26 f., there occurs in B, 4 the phrase במדינתא תשטרם. The (presumably) proper name here may be the transcription of an Egyptian designation of 'the Southern District,' as it has quite generally been regarded. Spiegelberg, who first made the suggestion, in the original publication of the papyrus by Euting (*Mémoires présentés à l'Académie*, XI, 1904, pp. 308 ff.), expressed himself more doubtfully about it later (see O L Z. 7, 10 [1904]; and in fact the meaning here of the Egyptian element *šd* (= Aram. שט) is quite uncertain. Nevertheless it is tempting to render *medīna* in this case by 'district,' regarding it as

designating an Egyptian nome, and perhaps as an example of Palestinian usage, seeing that the writers of the document are Jews. But the writing is a formal complaint and petition addressed to the Persian viceroy; it is obvious that *at just this point the official terminology is being employed* (notice the titles of officers immediately preceding); and it is altogether unlikely that this terminology employed the same word for both the district and its capital city (every nome had a capital). On the basis of what we happen to know with certainty we are bound to render here, as in the other documents, by either 'capital-city' or the plural 'cities.'

These are the only sure occurrences of the word *medīna*, as far as I am aware, in extra-Palestinian documents in this early period. The מדינתא of the papyrus fragment published in the C I S, *Pars Secunda*, I, 147, line 14, rendered *urbs* by the editors of the Corpus, is a disputed reading (Euting, *op. cit.*, p. 308, note). The Aramaic documents in Ezra are all Palestinian compositions, as I have shown elsewhere.

Of the Gentile Aramaic literature, which was certainly very extensive and varied, no more specimens of any considerable extent are preserved until the beginning of the Christian era. Our next subsequent information as to the native use of the word *medīna* comes from two contemporaneous but entirely independent sources. The creation of a Christian sacred literature in a dialect of Aramaic gives us abundant illustration from Northern Syria and Mesopotamia, while from the same period we have the testimony of the inscriptions of Palmyra, a city the site of which, after its destruction in the third century after Christ, remained deserted. The Christian dialect, "Syriac," belongs to the Eastern branch of the Aramaic language-family; the Palmyrene, closely related to Biblical Aramaic and presumably identical with the dialect which for centuries had been spoken and written in the region between Damascus and Hamath, belongs to the Western branch. In the Syriac literature, beginning with the Lewis Gospels in the second century, the word *medīna*, which occurs very frequently, means 'city.' There is no uncertainty or variation in its use; it never means 'province' or 'district,' but is the one regular word for 'city,' just as עיר is in Hebrew; in translations from the Greek it is always the rendering of πόλις. In the Palmyrene inscriptions we find the same definite and invariable use. *Medīna*, which happens to occur in several dated documents from the early second century onward, appears to be the only Palmyrene word for 'city,' and nowhere means anything else.

The inference to be drawn from these facts is both obvious and certain. The regular Aramaic word for 'city' in both Western and Eastern dialects was *medīna*. This was certainly true during the period of Persian rule in Western Asia and thereafter, whatever may have been the case at a still earlier date. There is no clear evidence that the word was ever used in any other meaning *outside of the Hebrew territory*. The borrowing by the Hebrews seems to have taken place in the way which is illustrated in countless other instances in the history of language, the new word being given a new meaning by the borrowers. Having a fixed term of their own, עִיר, for 'city,' as well as the locally used קִרְיָה, they adopted the Aramaic מְדִינָה (literally, 'place of government,' 'seat of jurisdiction') giving it the meaning 'province,' 'sphere of jurisdiction' (equally justified etymologically), for which they had no other term; this signification was very possibly suggested by an old native use in the sense '*capital city*' of an administrative district, the same use which we find adopted by the Persians and employed in Egypt. Thenceforward the word meant 'province' in Hebrew-Jewish writings, until at some time in the early Christian period its use in this sense was crowded out by the regular and original native Aramaic use. This is the only hypothesis justified by the facts known to us at present.

In the *Megillath Taanith* (second century after Christ) occurs the phrase מְדִינַת בְּלָקִים, which I rendered 'the *city* of Chalcis' in the two publications mentioned above. Springer questions this, citing some one's translation 'province.' I myself now think that the latter rendering is more probably correct, and that I should change my former statement accordingly. I had previously relied on Joseph Derenbourg, Neubauer, Dalman, and others, but have recently inclined to the view that 'Chalcis' and 'Beth Zabdai' here designate districts rather than cities. See also Zeitlin in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, X, pp. 284 ff. The two geographical terms are indeed equivocal, and the historical allusion is not sufficiently certain, but a strong argument can be drawn from the Jewish use of the word *medīna*. I do not believe that the meaning of the familiar term can have changed thus early, especially in such a document as this. How much later the meaning 'province' persisted — aside from the stereotyped phrase יְהוּד מְדִינַתָּה 'the province of Judea' — it does not seem possible to determine.

As for the rendering of *medīna* in the Greek Scriptures by πόλις, or by χώρα and its equivalents, there is to be found here no evidence of *changing* usage, as I was formerly inclined to think. As I have

shown above, the difference in meaning was local, and — within the period of time covered by our biblical documents — not at all a matter of relative date. The question is simply this, *whether the translator was acquainted with the Hebrew-Jewish use of the term*. Since the translators were ordinarily Jews, and since also the context in the Hebrew or Aramaic original usually indicated plainly the meaning 'province' or 'district' rather than 'city,' we should expect, and we do in fact find, only sporadic instances of the mistaken rendering by πόλις in accordance with the Gentile use. As it happens, the few instances known to us cover a considerable period of time.

The earliest example is from the old Greek ("LXX") translation of Daniel, a version made in the middle of the second century B.C. (see my *Ezra Studies*, p. 85). In 11, 24 the Hebrew word מדינה is rendered by πόλιν. Springer (p. 326) denies this, but if he will look again at the passage, I think he will see that he is mistaken. The translator renders מְשָׁמִים יְבוּא (evidently reading this participle in place of the מַשְׁמִי of our Massoretic text) very naturally by ἐρημώσει, but however this may be, there can be no question whatever as to his rendering of מדינה by πόλις.

The other passages from the Greek Old Testament may be enumerated here, for the sake of completeness. In 1 Kings 20, 14; 15; 17; 19 the ordinary Greek version renders הַמְּדִינֹת by τῶν χωρῶν, in all four verses. In order to preserve another translation, equally suited to the context, some editor or corrector substituted τῶν πόλεων on the first occurrence of the phrase, in vs. 14; the alternative reading now surviving in Codex A and one or two others, and in the Syro-Hexaplar version. The translation of Symmachus in this same verse, as we happen to know, was τῆς πόλεως, and he rendered *medīna* (Aramaic or Hebrew) by πόλις also in Dan. 3, 2; 12 and 8, 2. It is quite likely that his hand is to be seen once more in the double reading in Neh. 1, 3, where the "Hexaplar" text (*Ezra Studies*, pp. 96 ff.), represented chiefly by codices א, B, N, and the Syro-Hexaplar version (probably), reads ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐν (τῇ) πόλει. Springer finds it hardly credible (p. 330) that Symmachus should have called Elymais a 'city' in Dan. 8, 2; this is, however, precisely what we see done in 1 Macc. 6, 1 and Jos. *Antt.* xii, 9, 1. Starting from the assumption that Symmachus consulted the LXX and Theodotion before making these renderings, and with the added assumption that he would not have ventured to differ from them, Springer reaches the rather startling conclusion that in all these passages his πόλις means not 'city' but something else. This supposition need not detain us, however, since

Springer himself reminds us (p. 332) that an hypothesis "cannot be based upon what is itself only a poorly supported hypothesis. If hypothesis is to be reared on hypothesis, then the supporting one should itself be firmly founded."

To return at last to Luke i. 39. The argument for mistranslation in the Greek rests on three undeniable facts. 1. In any Palestinian document of the first century the word *medīna* would be likely to mean 'province.' 2. A Gentile translator living outside Palestine would be likely to understand the word to mean 'city.' 3. The former meaning, not the latter, explains the Greek, and suits the context, in Luke i. 39. The conclusion finds very important support in the evidences of translation which run continuously through the whole document in which the troublesome phrase occurs. The argument is valid; I do not think that it will be met.

The question may be raised how Springer would render the phrase *εἰς πόλιν Ἰούδα*. I have never seen a plausible translation of the Greek, and am sorry that he has not given us his own final conclusion. He does indeed remark, on p. 324, that a "non-Semitic writer impregnated with Semitic modes of expression" might use this form of words to mean "*into a city of the tribe of Judah or into a city of the land of Judah*;" but it may be that he attaches no great weight to the suggestion. This is not a Semitic mode of expression. It is not necessary to "think in Semitic," but only to have a knowledge of grammar and usage, in order to be aware that no writer in Hebrew or Aramaic could express the idea quoted above in a form of words corresponding to Luke's Greek phrase. It is perhaps equally hard to believe that a Greek writer composing his own narrative — even a writer of very inferior knowledge and ability — could have produced this curiously blundering phrase, *εἰς πόλιν Ἰούδα*.

Geographical and topographical terms are likely to be pitfalls for the translator, especially for those who are not personally familiar with the localities concerned. When in addition to the lack of exact knowledge it happens that the terms themselves are equivocal in their meaning, we must of course expect occasional slips. Luke was not a Palestinian, and all commentators have remarked upon his unfamiliarity with the land. There is one Aramaic term of locality which has such a wide range of meaning that it is almost certain to make trouble for the Greek translator who, not sure as to the precise meaning in a given case, falls back on a standard rendering. The word קְרִיָּה, קְרִיָּה, is very familiar in Hebrew, Phoenician, Moabite,

and the various Aramaic dialects. Its etymological meaning seems to have been 'inhabited locality' (Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, pp. 61 f.; *Neue Beiträge*, p. 131). In our acquaintance with it, it means primarily and usually 'city,' and this meaning persists. But in the Aramaic of the first centuries of the Christian era, at least, and probably still earlier, it not only means 'city' but has also several other significations in constant use. Thus, in the Lewis and Curetonian Gospels and the Peshitta it is used with such various meanings as 'city' *πόλις* (e.g., Matt. 10, 14), 'village' *κώμη* (Matt. 14, 15; 21, 2; Mark 8, 23; 26), 'lands' *ἀγροί* (Matt. 19, 29; Mark 5, 14), the 'surrounding country' *ἡ περιχωρος* (Matt. 14, 35), the 'field' *ἀγρός* in which the sower sowed his seed (Matt. 13, 24); so also the 'field' which a man purchased (Luke 14, 18), and the 'fields' into which the prodigal son was sent to feed the swine (Luke 15, 15). In the Palmyrene Tariff (137 A.D.), the Aramaic *קריא* corresponds to the Greek *χωρία*. From the Jewish Rabbinical literature we have partial parallels. The word here occasionally means 'village, hamlet,' as well as 'city'; and in the passage *Succah* 44b (cited in Levy), from the first half of the second century, we seem to have a parallel to the 'lands, estates,' *ἀγροί, quryā*, of Matt. 19, 29, etc. A man said: "I have *farms* (*קרייתא*), vineyards, and olive-orchards, and the farm-tenants (*בני קרייתא*) came," etc. We have evidence also in the Jerusalem Talmud that the word was popularly used for 'the country' in contrast with 'the city' (especially in the Galilean dialect? — see Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdischpalästinischen Aramäisch*, 2d ed., p. 41). This use was so familiar that the adjective *קריאי*, at first 'countryman, rustic, *paganus*,' was also employed to mean 'boor, dullard, half-wit' (examples from the second century). Nevertheless 'city' was the usual literary meaning of the term.

This may give us an idea of the difficulties which a translator would occasionally encounter in dealing with the word *קריא*. Of course in almost every case, as a look at the preceding examples from the gospels will show, the context would make the meaning so plain that no translator could go astray. But translators, as every one knows, sometimes simply *translate*; in the conviction that if the author of the original wrote thus and so, it is "theirs not to reason why." In some cases, moreover, it might be uncertain what the author intended.

In Luke 9, 10, for example, I should presume that Luke had before him *קרייתא די בית צידא*, which he accordingly rendered *εἰς πόλιν καλουμένην Βηθσαιδά* (cf. 7, 11), though the subsequent context and the parallel passages indicate that he should have written

εἰς τὴν περὶχωρὸν τῆς Βηθσαιδά, or some other phrase designating the 'open fields' back of the city. It may well be, again, that Luke's strange reading ἐκ τῆς πόλεως in 8, 27 is merely his translation of מְקִרְיָא, from the open country, since the latter part of this same verse, and also vs. 29, show plainly that the man did *not* come from the city. In Mark 15, 21 and Luke 23, 26, Simon of Cyrene is described as "coming from the country," ἀπ' ἀγροῦ, which is rendered מִן קְרִיָּא in all three texts (Lewis, Curetonian, Peshitta) of the Syriac version. Whatever may have stood in the original texts rendered by the translators of Matthew and Mark, we may presume that in the (widely different) Aramaic narrative of the crucifixion translated by Luke the reading here was מִן חֻקְלָא (used for both 'field' and 'country'; a חֻקְלָא is a 'rustic'); if the word had been קְרִיָּא, he would pretty certainly have told us that Simon was coming ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. I have no intention of discussing the passages fully here, but merely introduce them as possible illustrations of the difficulty made for the translator by such loosely used topographical terms as this one, and as throwing a side-light on the mistranslation in Luke i. 39.

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THE NEW EDITION BY E. VON DOBSCHÜTZ OF NESTLE'S INTRODUCTION TO THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

Eberhard Nestle's Einführung in das Griechische Neue Testament, vierte Auflage, völlig umgearbeitet von Ernst von Dobschütz. Mit 20 Handschriftentafeln. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1923.

Before proceeding to the discussion of this important book, it is well to bring forward two formal requests from German representatives of New Testament learning, which accompany it. The first of these is that in the future all scholars who have occasion to refer to New Testament manuscripts will take pains to use the numbers assigned in the late Professor Caspar René Gregory's reconstructed and final list, as given in his book, *Die griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, 1908, together with certain supplements added in his *Vorschläge für eine kritische Ausgabe des Neuen Testaments*, 1911, pp. 34-36. The numbers can also be found, though less conveniently, in the extensive "Nachtrag" which, with the indices, makes up the

third volume of Gregory's useful *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes*, 1909.

American scholars, we are sure, will recognize the soundness of this request, and will gladly follow it. In this list, as is well known, the uncial MSS. have received numeral designations (preceded by a zero) so that the list can be indefinitely expanded as occasional new codices, and (what is more important) many new fragments, come to light. The former four lists of minuscules are combined into one, so that no MS. bears more than one designation for all its parts. The two former lectionary lists are also consolidated into a single list, distinct from that of the minuscules. Whatever preferences individual scholars might have had as to improvements in method, all will admit that uniformity is indispensable: and the system of von Soden, which has certain obvious advantages and without the invention and use of which his great work could hardly have been carried through, has not proved convenient as a common tool for the investigations of others.

A welcome announcement is conveyed in the second request. Professor von Dobschütz has consented to take Gregory's place as keeper of the lists of New Testament manuscripts. He will assign numbers to those which require them, and from time to time publish lists of the new additions. It is particularly requested that any scholars who have noted omissions of manuscripts or fragments in Gregory's lists, or to whose knowledge come newly discovered texts, or new information about known texts, will send prompt information, for the benefit of all scholars, to Professor Ernst von Dobschütz, Lafontaine-strasse 21, Halle, Germany. No more appropriate successor to Gregory in this useful capacity could have been found.

Nestle's *Einführung*, in its three editions (1897, 1899, 1909), has rendered much service to students of textual criticism. A highly personal and individual book, full of the author's wide information, reflecting his extraordinary interest in details, and, as well, his healthy refusal to be satisfied with the commonly accepted results of past labors — whether his own or other men's, there was nothing quite like it, and it gained the wide use which it deserved. The older editions have not lost their value, and the second edition contained interesting things which were crowded out by the enlargements of the third. But in such a subject, with its ramifications extending into an unlimited variety of fields of knowledge, and with the appearance every year of new discoveries and discussions — often relating

to important, though small, details — constant need arises of new hand-books, and no greater enemy of scholarship exists than stereo-typed plates.

Professor von Dobschütz has modestly entitled his book a fourth edition of Nestle, and thereby acquired an honest right to use the material of his predecessor, but in reality what he gives us is new in conception, arrangement, and completeness, and largely so in subject-matter. Much of Nestle's book represented his own opinions and studies, and could be assumed by no successor, and the new edition is very happy in what it substitutes. We may hope that it means the establishment of a permanent institution, the successive editions of which will record the advance of the science. And we may hope that these editions will be frequent.

Into 150 pages the author has packed an astonishing amount of information on all the subjects with which a handbook of textual criticism ought to deal. Some of it is of course found in all the books on the subject, but a great deal is not. The references to older and more recent discussions are wide in their range and often put the student on the track of important contributions to the theme of his researches that he might otherwise have overlooked. The patristic passages which are fundamental for textual criticism are generally given in full. As one reviews the closely printed pages again after reading the book through, he is impressed by the wealth of matter, properly arranged and digested, as well as by the insight and suggestiveness of many of the incidental observations. The data both for the manuscripts and the printed text are given, and the versions treated with fullness.

It is inevitable that the first edition of a work like this, especially in view of the present difficulties in the printing business in Germany, should show occasional errors and defects. Sometimes the inadequacy of Gregory's and Nestle's accounts of recondite subjects, like the less-known versions, is revealed in Dobschütz's use of their material. Occasionally he has overlooked important recent treatments of one or another topic. Sometimes he has retained from Nestle something that had better have been omitted (as, for instance, the statement on page 88 that Codices A and C are alike in their musical notation, the fact being that Codex A has no musical notation at all). The indexes should be much enlarged. But these are minor faults, easily rectified, and every scholar in every land who is concerned with the textual criticism of the New Testament will need to have a copy of this book at his hand. And the price is remarkably low (about one

dollar). Moreover, in the interest of all, it is the duty of every scholar having special knowledge, especially in the less trodden paths, to send to Professor von Dobschütz such corrections and additions as he may be able. As we have said already, this book is the foundation of a permanent institution, and the author, who is heartily to be congratulated on it, cannot be acquitted of laborious future responsibilities.

The author's own discussion of the method of textual criticism is fresh and valuable, and, with its detailed illustrations, will be of use in teaching the subject to students. The plates of MS. pages in various languages are admirably selected, and provided with instructive comments calling the student's attention to what he ought to see in these specimens of documents. This last feature is original and ingenious, and these comments could well be expanded in the next edition.

As has been intimated, Professor von Dobschütz has been too modest in the name of his book. The work is really his own, and in the title of the next edition he ought to claim his right of authorship. In doing so he would promote the convenience of scholars, who will find the present somewhat cumbrous form of the title a little burdensome in making references in print.

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